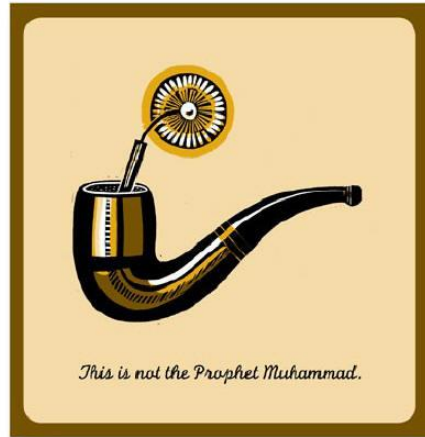


**Drawn too Extreme: An Examination of the Satire and the Representations of the Other  
in the Works of Kurt Westergaard and Zapiro.**



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**Thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree**  
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## **Declaration**

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## **Abstract**

Using as a starting point Voltaire's statement "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it", coupled with an emphasis on the contrary standpoint that a little censorship and regulation of expression is unavoidable, this thesis seeks to examine the state of global democracy and its freedom of expression. Through the contextualisation and analysis of Kurt Westergaard and Zapiro's editorial cartoons, the thesis seeks to discuss some of the issues raised in connection with these texts. It contends that the media driven "Clash of Civilisations" informs not only the role of the editorial cartoonist in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, but is a gauge of the world-wide geopolitical climate. This thesis aims to provide an in-depth examination of how and why these two cartoon crises came to be catalysts in a discussion of integration and transformation of cultures. By studying the genre of editorial cartooning, and drawing on the contrasting ideas of Samuel Huntington and Edward Said, the thesis attempts an analysis of the discourses and binary oppositions that have been the reactions to the cartoon crises involving the works of Kurt Westergaard and Zapiro. Ultimately the thesis challenges the binary oppositions of the "West" and the "Rest" and argues that, whilst editorial cartooning can play an important part in a radical democratic society, integration and transformation must work through respectful inclusion into multicultural societies.

## **Keywords**

Editorial cartooning, Freedom of Expression, Clash of Civilisations, Satire, ANC, Islam, Humour, Othering, Representation, Discourse, Ideology, Westergaard, Zapiro.

## Opsomming

Die gebruik as 'n beginpunt Voltaire se motto "Ek afkeur van wat jy sê, maar ek sal verdedig tot die dood jou reg om dit te sê," en met die klem op die standpunt dat 'n bietjie sensuur en regulering van uitdrukking is onvermydelik, hierdie tesis poog om ondersoek na die stand van die globale demokrasie en die vryheid van uitdrukking. Deur die kontekstualisering en ontleding van Kurt Westergaard en redaksionele spotprente Zapiro se, die tesis poog om 'n paar van die kwessies wat in verband met hierdie tekste te bespreek. Dit beweer dat die media-gedrewe "Clash of Civilisations" lig nie net die rol van die redaksionele spotprenttekenaar in die 21ste eeu, maar is 'n meter van die wêreld-wye geopolitieke klimaat. Hierdie tesis het ten doel om 'n in-diepte ondersoek op soek na antwoorde oor hoe en hoekom hierdie twee cartoon krisis het gekom om katalisator in 'n bespreking van integrasie en transformasie van kulture te voorsien. Deur die bestudering van die genre van redaksionele spotprente, en teken op die idees van Huntington en Said, die proefskrif poog 'n ontleding van die diskoerse en binêre opposisies wat die reaksies gewees het om die spotprent krisis wat die werke van Kurt Westergaard en Zapiro. Uiteindelik is die tesis uitdagings wat die binêre opposisies van die "Weste" en die "Rus" en beweer dat, terwyl redaksionele spotprente 'n belangrike rol kan speel in 'n radikale demokratiese samelewing, integrasie en transformasie moet bereik word deur respek insluiting in multikulturele gemeenskappe.

## Sleutelwoorde

Redaksionele spotprente, vryheid van uitdrukking, Clash of Civilisations, satire, ANC, Islam, Humor, vervreemding, Verteenwoordiging, diskoers, ideologie, Westergaard, Zapiro.

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## Chapter 1

### The Fundamentalism of Democracy and Freedom of Expression

Freiheit ist immer die Freiheit des Andersdenkenden – (Freedom is always and exclusively freedom for the one who thinks differently).

Rosa Luxemburg<sup>1</sup>.

Qui plume a, guerre a – (To hold a pen is to be at war).

Voltaire<sup>2</sup>.

## Introduction

This thesis examines the precarious position of freedom of expression in today's global society. It does so by looking at the role of the art of editorial cartooning, as this has lately been at the very core of the debate about freedom of expression. Placing the cartoons between the opposing ideas of Edward Said and Samuel Huntington, and using a conceptual framework developed by Norman Fairclough, it takes a closer look at the construction of discourses of Otherness. I suggest in this thesis that the two cartoon episodes, Westergaard vs. Islam and Zapiro vs. ANC, have many commonalities, which informs the on-going struggle against the closing down of freedom of expression globally.<sup>3</sup> This struggle to maintain one of our most basic and fundamental rights in a democracy is being fought on many fronts, be it culturally, politically or judicially. The thesis argues that what Samuel Huntington refers to as "The clash of civilizations"<sup>4</sup> is happening both in Europe and in South

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<sup>1</sup> Rosa Luxemburg was a Marxist theorist, philosopher, economist and activist. Amazingly, she was successively a member of the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), the Independent Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party of Germany. Today she is seen by many prominent neo-liberalist such as Christopher Hitchens, Ayan Hirsi Ali and Sam Harris as one of the major inspirations for the push for freedom and expression, on par with the founding fathers behind their most venerated document: The American Constitution.

<sup>2</sup>Voltaire is perhaps most famous for his claim "'I disagree with what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it'" which recognising the power of the word comes from a letter he wrote to Jeanne-Grâce Bosc du Bouchet, comtesse d'Argental (4 October 1748).

<sup>3</sup> This development can be seen both in the US treatment of whistle blower Edward Snowden and their Orwellian Patriots Act, but certainly also locally in South Africa and Denmark where a similar trend can be seen in the introduction of media tribunals and a general tightening of rules concerning freedom of expression.

Africa. The main argument in Huntington's highly influential thesis of the clash of the civilizations is that world politics will be reconfigured along cultural lines. These new "patterns" of conflict will replace those of the Cold War. Huntington speaks of the "fault lines between civilizations" (89) and points to Islam as being the civilization with the largest numbers of these. Islam has "bloody borders" (23) and represent the biggest threat to world peace. In Huntington's optics African culture is also in an adverse relation to the West, although he has some doubt about whether Africa is developed enough to even qualify as a cultural entity! Huntington's title is taken from a Bernard Lewis article called "The roots of Islamic Rage" published in 1990. It is from this highly polemical piece that Huntington takes many of his ideas on the incompetence of the Islamic faith and culture. His theory is driven by fearmongering and political agendas, and the two sets of cartoons have indeed become catalysts in this development. However, pivotally, as the clash is enhanced by a media under pressure<sup>5</sup> from the freedom of movement of information on the internet, the invested parties therefore are turning their attention from reporting the news to instead pushing their views and driving their ideologies of what Edward Said has termed "Orientalism"<sup>6</sup>. Interestingly the medium of editorial cartooning, with its inherent ability to conflate many ideas into a single image, seems to have come to form the perfect platform for this development in journalism and politics. As the sides, the West and the East/African parties have become locked into absolutism and fundamentalism, the cartoons continue to be the point of departure for the widening gap in understanding and tolerance between the parties. Editorial cartoons are an ideal way to ask the questions, to raise the issues, but they do not offer any solutions.

Satire, it has been said, digs trenches, whereas humour builds bridges and, with this in mind, this thesis argues that we must rediscover the ability to be respectful of one another, whilst preserving the secular society's capacity for critical discussion of all issues. The thesis aims to expose the hypocrisy of the Western world's image of itself as the defender of all human rights, showing it to be a highly regulated society, heavily influenced by political and

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<sup>5</sup> To this effect Trudy Lieberman in 'Slanting the Story: The Forces That Shape the News' writes: "News has become a headline service. We want them bam, bam, bam. The more stories you have, the more you cram in, the more the perception that the audience is being informed. (In this way) You get the facts without straining your brain" (9).

<sup>6</sup> Orientalism is a term that is used by scholars for the imitation or depiction of characteristics in non-Western cultures. These depictions are usually done by writers, designers and artists from the West. It denotes what Edward Said refers to as patronizing Western attitude towards Middle Eastern, Asian and African societies. In Said's analysis, the West represent these societies as static and undeveloped. By contrast he notes how Western society is depicted as developed, rational, flexible, and superior.



economic powers. What Fairclough refers to as the “myth of free speech” (63) is exactly that. The discourse promoting the view that anyone is “free” to say whatever they wish is powerful, but is nevertheless in complete opposition to the myriad constraints in even the most well-established democracies. At the same time, the discourse of liberalism maintains a critical stance in relation to the deification of spiritual and political leaders in the tribal cultural view of the ANC and Islam and their tradition of taboos and restrictions.

As we observe that discourse, as it is found in the cartoons that form the basis of this paper and the response to them, are the “favoured vehicle of ideology” (Fairclough 37); we then have a clash where these discourses aim to cement their ideologies as universal, as even common sensical.

In order to live happily and peacefully in the multicultural societies, we should strive to create and construct a culture of tolerance and an acknowledgement of our differences.<sup>7</sup> We need to remember that nothing happens in a void, but always comes with a context. It is inside this context that meaning is, and should be, created, and it is from within this context that we should continually challenge meaning. Although the satire used by both Westergaard and Zapiro in their cartoons does have a historical precedence in democracies at its roots, and as such constitutes valid criticism, it ultimately displays examples of a new and fundamentally undemocratic usage.<sup>8</sup> In their eagerness to provoke and ridicule, in their creation of an Other, the cartoonists close down the channels of debate and openness needed in their respective countries. Ultimately, the cartoonists discussed here have forgotten what they were supposed to do, namely speaking truth to power. Instead, they have become examples of how texts also serve to dominate and oppress.

This thesis furthermore looks at the need for freedom of speech in a modern democracy. It questions the media’s role as an independent watchdog and discusses the implications of viewing freedom of expression as an absolute right. The main discussion revolves around both whether an expression is appropriate, and, pivotally, also about who decides what is appropriate. Discussing the small, once so homogenous, monarchy of Denmark, and the now

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<sup>7</sup> Naturally a lot of research is done on how to develop these multi- or pluricultural societies. Perhaps most interesting is Gregory Bateson concept of schismogenesis. Bateson argues that we must develop what he terms “reciprocal” communities, so as to avoid a progressive differentiation of the cultures within a given society. Bateson warns that what is happening in Europe now is a pattern “in which the behaviour and aspiration of the members of two groups are fundamentally different” and that this rivalry ultimately will lead to “extreme hostility and the breakdown of the whole system” (188).

<sup>8</sup> Please find examples of Westergaard’s highly critical stance on Islam prior to 2005 in the appendix.

free and democratic republic of South Africa, this thesis aims to illustrate not only how freedom of expression has been applied through the medium of editorial cartooning, but also how it has been taken hostage by political, religious and cultural parties.

The seeking of freedoms is human nature. It has become common for people to want their own, their way, to want control over their lives, but also to have an established and accepted place in a community. There is a need to be heard a need to project one's understanding and emotions; a need to react and to shape. This paper specifically discusses the freedom entitled "freedom of expression", which is defined as follows:

Freedom of expression is the political right to communicate one's opinions and ideas. The term freedom of speech is sometimes used synonymously, but includes any act of seeking, receiving and imparting information or ideas, regardless of the medium used. (thelawdictionary.org 1)

This is why Western liberals insist on freedom of expression and democracy going hand in hand. It is an absolutely necessary condition for a democracy to function so that its citizens can express themselves. Freedom of expression has a long and glorified place in all of the world's democracies in that it works as a safety valve for a democracy, an exact opposite to terrorism,<sup>9</sup> allowing and supporting people in their right to be heard. However, it is also true that we need to think of freedom of expression with a 'but' in mind. Indeed, most constitutions, with the exception of the American constitution, acknowledge that certain limitations have to be taken into consideration. These limitations include restrictions on a variety of issues such as:

libel, slander, obscenity, pornography, sedition, hate speech, incitement, fighting words, classified information, copyright violation, trade secrets, non-disclosure agreements, right to privacy, right to be forgotten, public security, public order, public nuisance, campaign finance reform, and oppression. (Lawdictionary.org 2)

This long list exists mainly because these freedoms can never be allowed to apply to merely an individual; they must apply to everyone. It is an all or nothing scenario, because otherwise, ironically, they become discriminatory. Therefore freedom of expression is not an absolute

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<sup>9</sup> I use the hugely contested term "terrorism" here to mean "Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public" (Merriam-Webster.org). What I am implying is that freedom of expression is a non-violent way of creating awareness within the realm of what is acceptable in a democracy, as opposed to terrorism which seeks achieve this attention by forces outside of the norms and rules of a democracy.

right. Within the system of governance that we in the Western world have chosen, there can be no absolute rights, in as far as the pillars of democracy rest on majority rule and consequently that certain rules and laws, agreed upon in this society, not be adhered to. In effect this means that no one right unequivocally overrules another. The rights, of expression or religious beliefs for example, are constantly overlapping and one can therefore not be said to take precedence over another. This, however, does not mean that these rights are devalued and ought to be disregarded, but rather that they are in constant flux, in a flexible state, open to discussion, as is democracy itself. It is my firm belief that in a “true” liberal democracy we must protect the rights of everybody, but also that on an individual level we must use these rights with the care and respect that they deserve. Roger Trigg in *Equality, Freedom and Religion* argues that: “[a] civilized society depends on restraints given by law. No one can decide to do what he or she likes, with no consideration for its effect on others” (97). I think this claim, and I think this serves a critical starting point for a debate about the right to freedom of expression, and indeed all the human rights.

Likewise Tomas I. Emerson in *Towards a General Theory of The First Amendment*, writes:

The attainment of freedom of expression is not the sole aim of the good society. As the private right of the individual, freedom of expression is an end in itself, but it is not the only end of man as an individual [...] [A]ny theory of freedom of expression must therefore take into account other values, such as public order, justice, equality and moral progress, and the need for substantive measures designed to promote those ideals. Hence there is a real problem in reconciling freedom of expression with the other values and objectives sought by the good society. (12)

The difficulties of applying and administering freedom of expression will always exist in an open, democratic society. This is because freedom of expression not only is the foundation and at the very core of a democratic society, but also, in turn, is the very right that continually challenges the structures of said governance. It inadvertently pushes its boundaries. It offends us, it develops us and it broadens our horizons. It therefore follows that democracy is only true when the voices of the disenchanted, the minorities and the revolutionaries are allowed to come to the fore, and to be judged by a free society’s members.

This is equally the sentiment expressed by the great Rosa Luxembourg in the epigraph to this chapter. To this same effect Salman Rushdie writes: “Free speech is a non-starter says one of my Islamic extremist opponents. No, sir, it is not. Free speech is the whole thing, the whole

ball game. Free speech is life itself” (24). This powerful statement succinctly stresses a main argument of this paper, namely that the divergent and often conflicting views of different cultures or views on freedom of expression have taken centre stage, not just within individual states, but also on a global scale. The whole world is engaged in an extremely important debate on where these limits should be set and by whom.

The cartoons around which this paper is built have been placed, and continues to be used in what has been termed a “clash of civilisations”. Caught in this intense, heated and even deadly debate, they have become the reference point for the exemplification or for the abuse of freedom of expression. The cartoonists are today the poster boys for freedom of expression or, alternatively, blasphemous hatred. However, this positing of adversaries against each other is not new. This paper argues that what Edward Said terms “Othering”, the way of identifying and indeed objectifying one’s Other, is once again at the base of the ongoing controversy.<sup>10</sup> As mentioned earlier Said argues that the West has a history of hegemonic construction of its Other and that this Other is continually established and interpreted in “their difference from “us”” (Orientalism 332). The cartoonists discussed here might well occasionally be living up to one of Said’s key ideas, that of “speaking truth to power” (*Representations of the Intellectual* 65), by using freedom of expression to start important debates, but they are certainly also part of what he calls the imperial discourse of the West. In many ways the very nature of the editorial cartoon, as discussed in more detail in later chapters, lends itself perfectly to the objectification of an “Other”. In the editorial cartooning of Westergaard and Zapiro, Islam and Zuma (and his political party) respectively become alien constructs. Arguably, one can say that the orientalist attitude Said bemoans, saying: “Arabs are Oriental, therefore less human and valuable than Europeans” (*The Question of Palestine* 28) is exactly the same attitude shown by both Westergaard and Zapiro in their caricature of the Other<sup>11</sup>. It seems that their, perhaps subconscious and unintended, starting point and rhetoric, is based on the assumption that Western civilisation is undeniably the pinnacle of historical development. When Said talks about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict one cannot help but think of the reign of white apartheid, with its hegemony of discourse firmly

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<sup>10</sup> Importantly, we must acknowledge that identity is always construed through a process of Othering. In Said’s *After the Last Sky* he articulates this pivotal idea of the dialect nature of self and Other accordingly: “[In all cultures and societies identities are constructed through the definition of the) the subject] ‘I’ who is native, at home, and the object ‘you’ who is foreign, perhaps threatening, different, out there” (40).

<sup>11</sup> However, I acknowledge that in Zapiro’s case this likeness is perhaps more connected to the medium of editorial cartooning and its roots in Western liberal ideology, than the actual imagery he uses in the cartoons.

placed on the side of the oppressive, colonial government. That the sense of entitlement the rhetoric of colonialism and imperialism uses is based on the notion of moral superiority on behalf of the West, is an important and unavoidable historical and contextual fact.

When Said writes about the situation in the Middle East he argues: “Zionists were able to establish that the land was unoccupied, or that it was occupied by uncivilized people who had little or no use for the land, allowing them to dispossess indigenous people in order to ‘civilise’ them” (*The Question of Palestine* 77), I would argue however, that this is a replica of what the Europeans did in South Africa. Furthermore I argue that this imperialist, nationalistic and neo-liberal reasoning is the ideological bedrock of the reasoning today of parts of the Danish news media. Therefore we must be vigilant in the face of the media’s agenda of encouraging fear of the corrupt African president or the Islamist terrorist. We must remember that there always is a counter narrative, a more nuanced view.<sup>12</sup> Said, for one, reminds us that the depiction of the Arab as “the mad Islamic zealot, the gratuitously violent killer of innocents, the desperately irrational and savage primitive” (*Miami Twice* 3) is just one perception of a group of people numbering about two billion. Islam has become a “scapegoat”, Said argues. It is his opinion that: “the distaste for Islam spans the entire political spectrum where for the right, Islam represents barbarism; for the left, medieval theocracy: for the centre, a kind of distasteful exoticism” (*Covering Islam* Lv). A similar range of criticism of the ANC led government post-Apartheid prevails amongst a majority of the white voters in South Africa, and, more and more, amongst intellectuals of all hues.

The ability to critically discern the discourses being applied to various strands of social criticism and their ideological roots is pivotal and provides us with the necessary context in which to see the cartoons. However, this is not just a ‘them and us’ situation. Indeed it is also about the threat from inside the democracies, where governments and media use exceedingly powerful measures to systematically indoctrinate as well as infringe on our human rights. It is increasingly difficult to tell right from wrong as the democracies, within themselves, and in turn with the world around them, change. It seems self-evident that a society that “wishes to take openness seriously as a value must therefore devise rules that are deliberately tilted in favour of openness in order to counteract the inherent proclivity of governments to engage in

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<sup>12</sup> Said himself speaks of contrapuntal readings. This is his way of reading texts for what is not being said and which sides are not given voice. He argues that there is always a need for a counter narrative to the “appropriated” (*Culture and Imperialism* 312) and entrenched writing and reading of the Western prejudiced discourse.

control, censorship and secrecy” (Smolla 4), but at the same time there is a growing part of the population (especially those in power) that feels threatened by the voices in favour of change to the structure of their society and these conservative forces wish to curb or abolish these critical views.

Censorship, be it enforced by oneself or unto others, is a social instinct. It is human nature to want to protect what one thinks is good and right, even if this happens by restricting something or someone else. Censorship could be seen as a necessary evil as it is often applied even unconsciously to protect the values and ideals of individuals as well as states. It is the point of this dissertation to argue that it no longer holds true that democratic values only come under threat from highly religious and dictatorial cultures, but that even in secular societies we see a dangerous curtailment of these ideals. The danger of this is that “the capacity to generate the levels of internal criticism and debate, primarily through literature, which is the difference between stagnation and progress” (Rushdie 65), is diminishing. This is mainly, as this paper will show, because of the fears and pressures of globalisation and multiculturalism and the reactionary consequences of these developments.

These reactions are certainly also due to the growing focus on political correctness. This is a term invented and sought to be upheld by those in power, to control the “correct” narrative. A mind-control mechanism if you will, that seeks to make the citizens of a society complicit in the predominant thinking. Because of this we run the risk of building “Nanny States<sup>13</sup>”, where huge, bureaucratic governments “protect” their “children/citizens” from themselves and where the masses are indoctrinated into a mainstream discourse. This can also be referred to as the ongoing self-censorship which all citizens of any society are increasingly forced to impose on themselves. This inevitable societal ask, to read your work through the eyes of society and its norms, is definitely problematic. J.M. Coetzee calls it a “contaminating reading” and in his book *Giving Offense* cites fellow writer Daniel Kis who puts it thus:

The battle against self-censorship is anonymous, lonely and unwitnessed, and it makes its subject feel humiliated and ashamed of collaborating. It is a situation where you become your own judge, stricter and more suspicious than anyone else [...] The self-appointed censor is the alter ego of the writer, an alter ego who leans over his shoulder and sticks his nose into the text [...] It is impossible to win against this

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<sup>13</sup> The term “Nanny State” is of British origin. It suggests the image of a government and its policies as being overprotective and interfering excessively with personal choice.

censor, for he is like God – he knows and sees all, he came out of your mind, your own fears, your own nightmares. (Qtd. in Coetzee 36)

Naturally a writer or editorial cartoonist must acknowledge the presence of an audience, but to what degree must what one writes or draws, be “fitted” to this reality? This question is hard to answer in any one way and is too broad a discussion for the purpose and scope of this research. However, in the words of Harold Bloom it can be argued that “there are no texts, only interpretations” (121), and of course anyone voicing an opinion or expressing himself, must be aware of this. At the same time, it seems prudent for the receiver to pay attention to the relation between the content and the intention of the sender. We cannot just appropriate a text, and utilise it to signify whatever we want. Suffice to say that with regards to the editorial cartoonists it certainly seems implied in their trade that they must push the boundaries of what can be expressed, and that they must therefore, to a greater degree, disregard this alter ego’s inhibitions. Indeed, both cartoonists discussed in this paper, despite an usual amount of pressure to conform, remain committed to testing the limits of what can be expressed and wholly unrepentant of their previous work.

There can be no doubt that most citizens in a democratic society will agree to the need for certain restrictions on our civil liberties. We appreciate the limitations on speed on our roads, just like we generally respect that a country has secrets of a military kind that cannot be made public knowledge. Indeed, as long as we count ourselves as part of the majority, there are numerous violations to our rights that we are willing to accept. Historically the problems only really arise when we fervently disagree with the stand being taken, when we find ourselves in the position of a minority. So this is exactly where democracy must prove true and show the indispensable value of freedom of speech.

Recently, with the advent of the internet and the disclosures via platforms such as WikiLeaks, there is an increasing uneasiness, not just with secrecy, but with the powers who hold, control and guard these secrets. As governments fight to keep control of knowledge and information, and as ironically these controls become more and more transparent and exposed, we are forced to re-evaluate our allegiances. We must understand that ultimately, information remains the key to the maintenance and distribution of power and wealth in the world and that we live in a world where:

Western societies are not, even now, the paradise of scepticism and rationalism that they believe themselves to be. Instead, the West is a variegated space, in which both



freedom of thought and tightly regulated speech exists, and in which disavowals of deadly violence happen at the same time as clandestine torture. (Cole 1)

Therefore the debate on rights, be it of expression, assembly or the right to information etc. becomes both a debate on why and how these are regulated, if at all, but also essentially about who should do this. As Smolla phrases it specifically regarding freedom of expression, “The initial question is not whether any particular expression is appropriate, and who decides what is appropriate. In an open culture that decision presumptively rests with speakers, not government officials, high or petty” (5). What follows naturally in the context of this dissertation about the role of editorial cartooning, is *how* critical expression is made? This central question will be dealt with later in the chapter regarding satire and the cartoonist.

If we take a step sideways in this exploration of human rights, we might take a look at the history and prevailing public opinion on these questions, focusing in particular on South Africa and Denmark. Firstly, it is noteworthy that Denmark’s and South Africa’s legal framework, i.e. their constitutional setup, is very much alike. South Africa’s laws closely resemble almost to a point those of Denmark. Here is the section of the South African Constitution regarding freedom of speech:

Section 16 of the Constitution provides:

- 1) Everyone has the right to freedom of expression, which includes
  - a) Freedom of the press and other media;
  - b) Freedom to receive or impart information or ideas;
  - c) Freedom of artistic creativity; and
  - d) Academic freedom and freedom of scientific research.
- 2) The right in subsection does not extend to
  - a) Propaganda for war;
  - b) Incitement of imminent violence; or
  - c) Advocacy of hatred that is based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion, and that constitutes incitement to cause harm.

(<http://www.gov.za/documents/constitution/chapter-2-bill-rights#16>)

In turn, the Danish constitutional law, section 77, states that:



## Section 77 [Freedom of Speech]

Any person shall be entitled to publish his thoughts in printing, in writing, and in speech, provided that he may be held answerable in a court of justice. Censorship and other preventive measures shall never again be introduced. (ICL, Denmark.constitution.org 12)

There is a strong emphasis on individual human rights, in line with most democratic societies. Denmark has a long history of allowing dissenting voices both through its multiparty government and electoral system, but also via its many and varied news outlets. Denmark, for instance, has an actively broadcasting Nazi Radio channel and was the first country to grant amnesty to the author Salman Rushdie, after Ayatollah Khomeini's *fatwa* against the writer. It is also famous for being the first country to decriminalize pornography. It is interesting to note that legislation involving freedom of speech has remained virtually unused, as in not applied in a court case, since the end of World War II. In the light of this, it was of little surprise in Denmark that the head of the state, Fogh-Rasmussen, refused to enter into the debate over the so called "Mohammed Cartoons" published in *Jyllands Posten*, as he simply stated "[that] it was within their rights to publish these and therefore outside of his control (Qtd. in Hervik "A long and Messy Event" 32). Certainly the Mohammed crisis made it abundantly clear that a massive majority of the Danes support the right to freedom of expression (especially as they agreed with the sentiments given voice).

On many levels it remains a right that is taken completely for granted. The very idea of someone not being able to speak their mind seemed almost silly to the Danish population, the reason being that this is not a culture in which you take yourself so seriously as to be easily offended. Denmark famously is a culture where being able to laugh at oneself is a pivotal social skill. Political correctness is largely seen as something to mock and negate and the national humour therefore can in turn seem dark and harsh to most "outsiders". Just like Klaus Dodd's and Phillip Kirby's reflections in the following paragraph, few topics are considered off-limits to the Danes, even if in poor taste:

On a personal level, as children growing up in Britain in the 1970s (KD) and 1990s (PK), we were exposed to a panoply of what would now be considered fairly dubious humour, certainly "politically incorrect". In the 1970s, highly sexist jokes (about mother-in-laws and women drivers, for example), highly racist jokes (about black and other ethnic minority communities), highly nationalist jokes (about Irish, Scots and

Welsh communities), and an assortment of humour regarding the Germans and Italians, usually relating to past wars and sporting encounters, abounded. (50)

It is therefore pertinent to keep in mind that what we find funny or humorous is largely acquired. As Michael Billig, inventor of the term “Unlaughter<sup>14</sup>” and author of *Laughter and Ridicule: Towards a Social Critique of Humour* reminds us “Like language and other aspects of rhetorical communication, laughter has to be learnt and taught” (134). It is also interesting to note that humour can serve as a release valve, a gauge of social standing and even social capital. Thurston in his study of the highly repressed environment of Russia post World War II entitled *Social Dimensions of Stalinist Rule: Humor and Terror in the USSR, 1935–1941* notes that even under the most authoritarian rules, humour played a massive role:

Telling jokes about the Terror was a way of testing the general apprehension among one’s acquaintances, and presumably, their allegiance to the state. If they laughed, the danger decreased in everyone’s eyes. In that case, social bonds were strengthened. But what if they did not laugh? In the Soviet Union, one could not afford to laugh at (even listen to) jokes from just anyone. If a citizen heard a joke against the state, but chose not to report it, a crime had been committed. (571)

Being Danish, I recognize that the ability to endure and endorse self-deprecating humour is considered a rudimentary part of everyday life, just as any kind of showing off is frowned upon. It is a very important social skill. Indeed any sort of public appearance must be tempered with a showing of these humbling qualities.

South Africa, on the other hand, has a very different history. Adewale Maja-Pearce in his book entitled: *Who’s Afraid of Wole Soyinka* described the situation under the apartheid regime as follows:

South Africa has long presented First World commentators on Africa with a problem. To any African the matter is quite simple: a minority tribe has hijacked power and is busy incarcerating children in order to maintain that power. The emergency

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<sup>14</sup> “Unlaughter” is an important term to define as it is a characteristic of nearly all the cartoons I have chosen for analysis in this paper. Michael Billig defines it accordingly: “(it) is not merely the absence of laughter. Such an absence is, after all, not remarkable; we do not spend the majority of our time consumed with laughter”. Rather, it is a term designed to highlight “a display of not laughing when laughing might otherwise be expected, hoped for or demanded” (32). Unlaughter is therefore not merely a result of the audience “not getting it”, but a subtle way of registering support for the performer, and, in turn, disapproval of the audience with the subject matter. Within the context of the cartoons selected the concept therefore accounts both socially and geopolitically for their powerful impact.

regulations, and with it censorship laws, are part and parcel of the mechanism by which an illegitimate government attempts to impose its will on the majority of the country's citizens through brute force. The fact that this minority is white is important only to the extent that the same minority insists on the primacy of colour as the yardstick by which we are to judge humanity. (83)

In addition, J.M Coetzee, arguably the country's finest writer, observes that the level of censorship and what he calls "paranoia" during apartheid equalled that of the Soviet Union during the cold war. Coetzee claims that:

From the early 1960s until 1980, the Republic of South Africa operated one of the most comprehensive censorship systems in the world. Called in official parlance not censorship but publication control (censorship was a word it preferred to censor from public discourse about itself), it sought to control the dissemination of signs in whatever form [...] the ratio of censors to writers was, if anything, higher than ten to one. (34)

However, that is not to say that there were no voices championing freedom of expression in the country. Interestingly, despite the racist and reactionary world-view of the apartheid government, there was still a judiciary capable of more nuanced views. Lawyer Jacques Louw quotes the then judge, later chief justice of South Africa, Franz Rumpff as saying in 1965:

The freedom of speech – which includes the freedom to print – is a facet of civilisation which always presents two well-known inherent traits. The one consists of the constant desire by some to abuse it. The other is the inclination of those who wish to protect it to repress more than is necessary. To repress is also fraught with danger. It is based on intolerance and is a symptom of the primitive urge in mankind to prohibit that with which one does not agree [...] (a court) should be anxious to steer a course as close to liberty as possible. It should do so because freedom of speech is a hard-won and precious asset, yet easily lost. (Qtd. in Louw 123)

It is indeed noteworthy to observe that this enormous machine of censorship was not just a racist one, but a rather sophisticated setup which worked thoroughly and meticulously.<sup>15</sup> As a

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<sup>15</sup> Despite the inane examples of children's books such as *Black Beauty* being banned for its title, there are numerous instances of the censors meticulously and constructively engaging with the literature produced during apartheid (Van Onselen, 23).

matter of fact the Mandela-led government decided to keep the chairman of the Film and Publication Board (FPB) on and expanded on but redirected the department's role during his governance.

The country today has one the most progressive constitutions in the world, which, poignantly, protects the rights of all its citizens. In many ways South Africa is at the forefront of development in this region and can be proud of many of the advances made towards a more equal society. Frank Chikane, a former minister in the ANC-led post-apartheid government, puts it thus:

Except in the case of a coups d'état, there are seldom more thoroughgoing changes to the state as those implemented post the apartheid system [...] our transformative project ventures into an uncharted territory – where angels fear to tread. (17)

Yet what we must acknowledge is that this process is far from over and that the country remains fragmented and haunted by its past. Democracies are not built overnight and involve not just structural changes to governments and their distribution of power but, vitally, a fundamental and radical change in attitudes and approach from the citizens. Everyone needs to buy into this sort of political system in order for it to work.

There are question marks regarding both sets of countries dealings with instances of freedom of speech. In Denmark an increasingly nationalistic, some would even call it Islamophobia,<sup>16</sup> tendency has long been observed. This, because of the growing number of Others in the small, previously homogenous, society. A recent survey shows that immigrants from the Middle East make up a mere 7% of Danish society (Gallup.org 12). These people, refugees mainly from the Middle East, have not been integrated into society and are therefore seen as outsiders, unwilling to conform to the democratic values. The Danes, for their part, seem ill-equipped, and mostly unwilling, to open up their society to the natural changes that come with an influx of different cultures. The differences between the cultures have yet to be seen as a positive force, but are rather viewed as something deeply undermining of society, something very problematic. On many levels of Danish society there is sense of loss of values and therefore a strong patriotic and conservative reaction to the strangers “flooding” the once exclusive society. The Danes are afraid. They are scared because they see Islam as

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<sup>16</sup> This often contested term denotes expressions and/or actions which often are basically racist in nature. However they tend to hide behind a focus on Islam, especially in this current political climate where there is a public perception of Muslims being ‘fair game’.

fundamentally anti-democratic and subversive at its core. Their worry is echoed in the words of Rushdie: “Actually Islam has failed to create a single free society anywhere on Earth [...] and throughout the Muslim world today, progressive ideas are in retreat” (22). This understanding of the schism dividing the West and the ‘rest’ is echoed in the ideas of Samuel Huntington’s seminal work “The Clash of Civilizations”. In it, Huntington predicts the future global fault lines to revolve around culture, arising from “the interaction of Western arrogance and Islamic intolerance” (183). He argues that Arab and African loyalty to an idealized version of a state built on concepts of a traditional and tribal culture, will result in “dangerous clashes” (183). In these “backward” states, which Huntington condescendingly refers to as “tribes with flags” (174), religion is still allowed to interfere with politics, thereby preventing the creation of a modern democratic society. Indeed, Huntington does not see any hope for a peaceful transition of these cultures, arguing that:

Islam has from the start been a religion of the sword. (It) glories military virtues. Islam originated among warring Bedouin nomadic tribes and this violent origin is stamped in the foundation of Islam. Muhammad himself is remembered as a hard fighter and a skilful military commander. The doctrines of Islam dictate war against unbelievers [...] the Koran and other statements of Muslim beliefs contain few prohibitions on violence, and a concept of nonviolence is absent from Muslim doctrine and practice. (263)

Certainly Huntington’s interpretation of the limitations of the Muslim faith and its inherent violent nature, is of a polemical and confrontational nature. Does Jihad not translate into crusade? Were the Christians not also guilty of spreading their religion through force? It is important to keep this unfortunate and rather simplistic world-view in mind, as it is at the core of the context in which the Danish cartoons were published.

Conversely, the fragile nature of the massive project to transform the new South Africa into a truly multicultural society, remains a work in progress. With the distribution of wealth still hopelessly unequal and little promise of a brighter future for the poor, it is an uphill battle. Unfortunately, this lack of progress is still also fuelled by what Mamphela Ramphele refers to as “[t]he stubborn ghosts of the past”, which she identifies as “racism, ethnic chauvinism, sexism and authoritarianism” (10). Many, including the cartoonist Zapiro, would also point to the inability of the ANC-led government to ably deal with the problems in a post-apartheid society.

Indeed, the discussion in South Africa often centres on the perceived necessity that everyone must support the government's efforts and be less critical in their approach. This, however, is a highly contentious suggestion within a country just recently freed from the shackles of state repression. It raises the question of whether South Africa is once again being led top down. Ramphela raises the valid question: "It cannot be true that criticism of a majority black government is equivalent to rendering them powerless. Is our government so fragile that it cannot take constructive criticism?" (19). On this, and on the basis of the Zuma vs. Zapiro cartoon case,<sup>17</sup> we must sadly conclude, that there is indeed a massive lack of confidence in the country's leadership. In contrast, the socialist-inclined Danes are having problems in confronting their ideals when faced with the reality of its cost in a multicultural society.

### **The role of the Media in a Democracy**

A look at the annually published World Press Freedom Index sees Denmark rated number 3 out of 180 countries listed. This list compiled by the organisation Reporters Without Borders shows that Denmark is down two places from 2005 where it was ranked as the most free environment for journalism. South Africa ranks 39th, sliding down 8 places over the last ten years. In comparison, France ranks only 38<sup>th</sup>, the U.S a lowly 49<sup>th</sup>, whereas countries like Russia (152<sup>nd</sup>) and China (176<sup>th</sup>) seem to remain at the bottom of the log. Certainly this both paints a picture of the very different interpretations of what constitutes a democracy, and also reveals the difficulties imposed on the journalists' work. It can generally be said that there has been a massive global shift in the wake of 9/11. A comprehensive decrease of freedom of expression can be detected.<sup>18</sup> This, not just in the broadened protection of national security, but also in the shape of media tribunals set up to dictate domestic public discourses. In Denmark this is true in regard to the Surveillance Act of 2002 and its amendments in 2007, and in South Africa, conversely, with the proposed media tribunal and what amongst journalists is referred to as the National Secrecy Bill. Never have

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<sup>17</sup> The series of cartoons entitled Rape of Justice will be discussed and analysed in later chapters.

<sup>18</sup> This claim is echoed by a variety of writers, commentators and agencies. Dinah Pokempner, in her capacity as consultant to the organisation Human Rights Watch writes of a shrinking realm of freedoms post 9/11: "Responses to terrorism combined with dynamics that long predate 9/11 have produced an array of threats to free expression. From Iraq to Russia to the Philippines, journalists are being treated as partisans, even Combatants, and are now more frequently targeted for attack than at any time in recent memory" (1).

we been closer to the nightmare Orwell imagined in 1984. Big brother is today a reality whether we like it or not. We must be prepared to increasingly by-pass the traditional outlets of democracies/media (newspapers, television networks) and, in the words of Herman and Chomsky:

The organization and self-education of groups in the community and the workplace, and their networking and activism, continue to be fundamental elements in steps toward the democratization of our social life and any meaningful social change. Only to the extent that such developments succeed can we hope to see media that are free and independent. (307)

However, what remains true is that when people feel upset or unfairly treated, they will voice their opinions and indeed test the limits of their rights. This means that in both countries the media has become the site of struggle. It is through newspapers, television, the radio and the internet that we increasingly seek to shape our society. The public domain is today, like never before, a powerful catalyst of freedom of speech. It is here where the struggle of who holds the grand narrative takes place, and it is here where we exercise our rights. But is the media a public domain? I will argue that the media is an interesting jungle of political agendas where “news” is equally “manufactured to create consent” (Chomsky 56) or indeed rebellion, where we find media corporations that deliberately try to upset or support the ruling governments. The access to, and flow of, information is relentless, which means that opinion makers must make sure they are heard. One way to do this is to be controversial, to push the very limits of where the boundaries of freedom of expression are. At the very same time, the media is “both bearers of right and bearers of constitutional obligations in relation to freedom of expression [...] they have a constitutional duty to act with vigour, courage, integrity and responsibility” (Milo 12). They are certainly both the eyes and ears of the public, but nevertheless, they are also in the business of making money and driven by corporate interest. This duality becomes fundamental in the controversial instances of the published cartoons that this dissertation deals with.

Herman and Chomsky in their seminal work *Manufacturing Consent* suggest that:

The societal purpose of the media is to inculcate and defend the economic, social and political agenda of the privileged groups that dominate the domestic society and state. (It does so) in many ways: through selection of topics, distribution of concerns,



framing of issues, filtering of information, emphasis and tone, and by keeping debate within the bounds of acceptable premises. (298)

So the media is decidedly not independent, not always a watchdog of the government, but in many cases a very powerful aide in securing the support of the voters. This point may seem obvious and apparent to any critical intellectual. Chomsky and Herman charge the supposedly free media with the verdict that they are guilty of nothing short of covert propaganda, much worse than the overt kind found in a dictatorship, and that to a large extent the journalists are unconscious of being a cog in this wheel, as they have simply internalised these values. This thinking seems especially fitting in South Africa. Here the power of media control arguably has remained in the hands of the old guard. As this country still decolonizes, it is interesting to note that the media largely remains controlled by white – run corporations, and indeed, white editors, much to the chagrin of the ruling party, who as seen in the quotes below by the leaders of the ANC and the EFF, feel denied of fitting representation or of their rightful place in charge of the media. Here are a selection of opinions voiced by the top politicians of said party:

Mandela: “While there are a few exceptional journalist, many like to please their white editors”. (Qtd. in Daniels 35)

Mbeki: “The message to black journalists [...] is clear: Roll up your sleeves and stop whingeing like a whitey. Get with the programme”. (Qtd. in Daniels 35)

Zuma: “We are faced with the virtually unique situation that, among the democracies, the overwhelmingly dominant tendency in South African politics, represented by the ANC, has no representation whatsoever in the mass media. (The) media [...] is politically and ideologically out of sync with the society in which it exists”. (Qtd. in Daniels p 36)

Malema:” The media is a law unto itself, and must be curbed”. (Qtd. in Daniels 3)

So in a sense the situation in South Africa seems to be upside down. Here the media is decidedly not in the pocket of the sitting government, but a very active and critical voice against it. This is naturally a worthwhile notion to keep in mind as we later look at the reception and campaign against Zapiro’s cartoons.

Conversely, *Jyllands Posten* has always been and remains Denmark’s most out and out proponent of neoliberalist ideals, with a strong connection to the parties to the right of



parliament. They are strongly rooted in what in Denmark is termed ‘fremmedfjendsk’ (enemy of the foreigner) tradition. It is today the biggest non-tabloid newspaper in the country, but does have serious contenders for that place, many of which support the social-democratic political movement the country is so famous for.

What is pivotal therefore to keep in mind, is that the media creates this illusion of being a public space, but at the core really is a private one. Any media outlet will always reflect the interests of its owners and advertisers above all else. It might invite readers to voice their opinions, be forced to act opportunistically and offer sensationalist news because of capitalistic gains, but there always is an agenda to be adhered to and a screening process. Everything is of course framed and selected. This means that freedom of expression in the media is always a qualified and limited entity, subject to the general stance or agenda of the respective media corporation, and then in turn to an ad hoc evaluation by an editor.

Chomsky’s idea of the largely innocent journalist caught up in his or her circumstances, having internalized these restrictions to a point where they no longer are aware of adhering to these, does not ring entirely true with me. It is simply too easy an answer, a mere smokescreen behind which to hide. Zapiro and Westergaard are, like all their colleagues, fully aware of the political stance of their employer and naturally, to a greater or lesser degree, represent these circumstances.

Suffice to say that censorship is everywhere and that it is a lie when the media proclaims to approximate freedom of expression. They cannot do so, simply because any choice made in the writing of an article means leaving some information out and projecting one’s own cultural bias onto the subject. So even if the South African press code states “the primary purpose of gathering and distributing news and opinion is to serve society by informing citizens and enabling them to make informed judgements” (Qtd. in Daniels 39), we must be prudent and extremely critical in our approach to the media.

Objectivity is naturally an illusion and, even when writing this, I must admit to my views and preconceptions tainting every word I write. It makes me think of my personal interest in the editorial cartoons. Maybe it is the unashamedly biased nature of the cartoons that I like, or the spontaneity and obviously subjective world-view that seems so liberating. With this in mind, I will try to contextualise the two sets of editorial cartoons that worked as catalysts in an ever expanding rift in the understanding between the cultures. Providing this background is of key importance to a clearer appreciation of how these drawings rose to the prominence they did.

## Chapter 2

### The Danish Perspective

I would find it impertinent and condescending to spare my Asiatic figures the satire, mockery and parody to which I subject my white characters.

Hanif Kureishi<sup>19</sup>

In a free society, everybody must be willing to put up with sarcasm, mockery and insult.

Flemming Rose<sup>20</sup>

In this chapter I attempt an in- depth contextualisation and analysis of the background of the cartoons published in *Jyllands Posten*. This chapter also examines the reactions and the aftermath of the crisis in the context of what Samuel Huntington describes as the clash of civilisations.<sup>21</sup> Huntington's hugely influential article from 1993 seems to have anticipated an instance such as the Danish cartoon crisis. In his article, Huntington, a staunch supporter of American foreign policy in the last three decades, argues that the "the great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural" (1). Huntington's main argument is that what he refers to as the unavoidable conflict between "the West and the Rest" will largely be down to the fact that "Westerns concepts differ fundamentally from those prevalent in other civilizations. Western ideas of individualism, liberalism, constitutionalism, human rights, equality, liberty, the rule of law, democracy, free markets, the separation of church and state, often have little resonance in Islamic, Confucian, Japanese, Hindu, Buddhist or Orthodox cultures" (54). He warns that "Western efforts to propagate such ideas produce instead a reaction against "human rights imperialism" (56) and

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<sup>19</sup> Epigraph taken from Kureishi's contribution to the compilation of letters in support of Salman Rushdie entitled, *Letters to Rushdie* (MacDonogh, 43).

<sup>20</sup> Epigraph taken from the opening paragraph of Flemming Rose's bestseller *Tyranny of Silence*. Rose's claim that to ridicule means to treat as equal, was however to prove a grave mistake. As Lene Hansen writes: "the invocation of satire does not automatically exempt *Jyllands Posten* or the cartoonists from charges of offensiveness" (366).

a reaffirmation of indigenous values, as can be seen in the support for religious fundamentalism by the younger generation in non-Western cultures. It specifically discusses the notion of whether you can socially integrate a diverse citizenry through insult and examines the different framings and discourses that were articulated in the debate which arose after the publication of the drawings of the Prophet Muhammad, as published in Denmark's largest newspaper.

Everyone in the world knows about the cartoons. Everyone has heard what happens if you show them in public. Everyone has an opinion about them. Yet, very few have ever seen them. These are the innocent yet deadly cartoons. So dangerous are these twelve drawings that they must be kept secret even by those who, in a most scholarly manner, wish to analyse and determine the underlying causes for their publication and their continued consequences. Consider the significance of the publisher's statement (and her printed response) below, as it occupies the very first page of scholar Jytte Klausen's book *The Cartoons that Shook the World*:

After careful consideration, Yale University Press has declined to reprint in this book the cartoons that were published in the September 30, 2005, edition of *Jyllands-Posten*, as well as other depictions of the prophet Muhammad that the author proposed to include. We recognize the inclusion of the cartoons would complement the book's text with a convenient visual reference for the reader, who otherwise must consult the internet to view the images. As an institution deeply committed to free expression, we were inclined to publish the cartoons and other images as proposed by the author. The original publication of the cartoons, however, was an occasion for violent incidents worldwide that resulted in more two hundred deaths. Republication of the cartoons has repeatedly resulted in violent incidents, as recently as 2008, some three years after the initial publication and long after the images had been available on the internet. These facts led us to consult extensively with experts in the intelligence, national security and law enforcement, and diplomatic fields, as well as with leading scholars in Islamic studies and Middle Eastern studies. The overwhelming judgement of the experts was that the republication of the cartoons by Yale University Press ran a serious risk of instigating violence; many of the most senior experts advised that publishing other illustrations of the Prophet Muhammad in the context of this book about the Danish cartoons controversy raised similar risk. In excluding depictions of the Prophet Muhammad, we hope that Jytte Klausen's excellent scholarly treatment

will be read and noticed by those seeking deeper understanding of the causes and consequences of the Danish cartoon controversy (vi).

The author in turn responded:

Muslim scholars, friends, political activists and leaders urged me to include the cartoons in the book with the purpose of encouraging reasoned analysis and debate on the cartoon episode. I agreed with sadness to the Press's decision not to print the cartoons and other hitherto uncontroversial illustrations featuring images of the Muslim prophet. But I also never intended the book to become another demonstration for or against the cartoons, and I hope it can still serve its intended purpose without illustrations. (Klausen 1)

A recognized academic work censored to this degree by its own publisher is quite rare. And it is an alarming fact that this is what this ordeal has come to. "Committed to freedom of expression, trying to bring nuanced and scholarly analysis to events", yet unable (unwilling?) to address the core issue? It is a sad state of affairs to give in to these fear mongers or risk advisers, and to paraphrase the bard himself, it seems to me that something is rotten in the state of Denmark (and the world around it for that matter). The drawings are, as *Yale University Press* themselves state, widely available on the internet and elsewhere, and to therefore decline to include them here, in a work trying to diffuse the situation and discuss the cartoons academically, serves only to promote the idea of their explosive quality. It would have been much better to demystify this idea. The cartoons *do not* per se incite violence, rather they have been used by people to incite violence.

I turn to a study of the context to find the underlying reasons for the publication that brought the debate about freedom of expression to the front pages of the world's media. The story begins on September 30th 2005. *Jyllands Posten*, the biggest newspaper in Denmark, publishes the 12 cartoons. They are located in the cultural section. The cultural editor, Flemming Rose, writes:

Modern, secular society is rejected by some Muslims. They demand a special position, insisting on special consideration of their own religious feelings. It is incompatible with contemporary democracy and freedom of speech, where one must be ready to put up with insults, mockery and ridicule. It is certainly not always attractive and nice to look at, and it does not mean that religious feelings should be made fun of at any price, but that is of minor importance in the present context. [...]

we are on our way to a slippery slope where no-one can tell how the self-censorship will end. That is why *Morgenavisen* (Morning edition of) *Jyllands-Posten* has invited members of the Danish editorial cartoonists union to draw Muhammad as they see him. (346)

The cartoons were revealed and, just like that, the image of Denmark in large parts of the Middle East and elsewhere went from being the very epitome of a society of civilized and responsible behaviour and mannerisms, to something entirely devoid of these virtues. However, this criticism did not come out of nowhere. Denmark has, particularly, in the last three decades, changed its political course. Known worldwide for its socialist-built welfare state, it is now leaning towards privatisation and tax-cuts for the rich. The overarching public debate has focused on immigration and the challenges that a pluri-cultural society seems to pose for precious national (and cultural) cohesion. Heiko Henkel, associate professor of anthropology at Copenhagen University, states:

Although the supposed threat to Danish society from immigration had been on the political agenda in Denmark from the 1970's, it had mostly been a fringe issue evoked by the populist right wing Fremskridtspartiet (the Progress Party). By the late 1990's, however, immigration had become a central feature in the Danish political debate. Under the leadership of Pia Kjaersgaard, the party had morphed into the more successful Dansk Folkeparti (DF, Danish People's Party) with a sharpened nationalist profile and an agenda claiming to defend the interest of the 'common' Danish people. Moreover, the former Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen from the liberal-conservative Venstre party had fought a successful and unusually aggressive campaign to oust the Social Democratic coalition government in 2001, central to which was the accusation that the social Democratic government was too lenient in its immigration policies. Since 2001, Fogh Rasmussen has led a coalition government with the smaller Konservative party, that depends for its majority in parliament on the support of Kjaersgaard's Dansk Folkeparti. In many ways, therefore the conflict over the cartoons neatly fits into a trend in Danish society described as the substitution of a 'humanist' framework that underpinned earlier Danish approaches to immigration with a new 'cultural absolutism'. (74)

*Jyllands Posten* had been very active in reporting, and in turn, manufacturing this change of opinion in Danish society. As a staunch supporter of Fogh Rasmussen and his party, the

newspaper had devoted an enormous amount of editorial space to the debate around failed immigration, that therefore should be limited, and in particular to the xenophobic<sup>22</sup> idea that Islam is at the root of the Danish immigration problem. The newspaper had most certainly become a mouthpiece of the burgeoning neo-liberal voice in support of the conservative parties and the mushrooming right-wing movement of the country. Conspiracy theories, like the ones touted by the reactionary American, Mark Steyn,<sup>23</sup> who argued that the Western world was under threat from a “population bomb” by the Muslim immigrants, were readily entertained in even serious media outlets. However, the editors of the newspaper claimed that the cartoons were not initially meant as a provocation, but rather as an experiment in working out the limits of freedom of expression. Carsten Juste, the main editor of *Jyllands Posten*, and Flemming Rose, came up with the idea of asking the entire union of cartoonists in Denmark to draw Muhammad as they saw him. This request arose from the fact that a children’s book writer, Kaare Bluitgen<sup>24</sup>, had been unable to find anyone to illustrate his book on Islam. Bluitgen had, according to the editors, asked around, but had been told that the cartoonists were afraid of taking on the task. Because of this, *Jyllands Posten* promised to publish the contributions and forego any editorial process. The cartoonists were offered the newspaper’s regular fee of 800 Danish kroner for their contributions. Forty-two artists were invited, but the newspaper received only fifteen replies. Three turned it down. One was unhappy about the remuneration, one thought the assignment too vague and one rejected it, stating that he would be too afraid to do it. This was not the outcome the two editors had hoped for:

The editors were in a bind. A plurality of the illustrators had not even responded.

There was no way to determine why they did not answer, and so the results of the

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<sup>22</sup> Merriam-Webster defines Xenophobia as: “fear and hatred of strangers or foreigners or of anything that is strange or foreign” (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/xenophobia>).

<sup>23</sup> Mark Steyn is an American writer whose paranoid scenarios of unrestrained fertility in the Muslim families has since been proved massively exaggerated. His projections for the population boom was built on predictions that assumed that for instance a Somalia-born Muslim women, “once in the Western world would continue to have the 6.3 babies she averages in her homeland. Recent studies in Europe show that fertility for Muslim women are an inconsequential 0.2 higher than a European woman” (Klausen 60).

<sup>24</sup> Kaare Bluitgen is himself an interesting personae. Author of many books critical of religious issues, he identifies himself as “a socialist, atheist, and as someone who can tell the true story of Islam for Danes and Muslim immigrants” (Ravnoe 17). Bluitgen is an agitator and highly controversial, as illustrated by the following statement from 2002:

The left needs to go on the offensive. Stage a procession down Noerrebrogade in Copenhagen wearing burqas, chadors, and long, dragging jackets, with strollers and baby carriages, all the way to Blaagards Plads. Then they should throw everything into the trash and splash the Qu’ran with menstrual blood (Bluitgen 70).

experiment were inconclusive. Yet because *Jyllands Posten* had promised the illustrators who did respond that their drawings would be published, it was difficult to cancel the project. (Klausen 15)

Westergaard, whose drawing eventually became the reference point of the Danish cartoon crisis, has since written about his reasoning for participating in the project:

In light of what has later been claimed about *Jyllands Posten*'s intentions to deliberately and gratuitously offend 2 billion Muslims, I should point out that the paper's rationale was a far different one. In the month's leading up to the publication of the cartoons, Islamists had launched one attack on Danish free speech after another. A well-known author had been unable to find an artist who would dare to illustrate a children's book on Muhammad. A concert was stopped by radical Muslims who claimed that music is un-Islamic. The culmination came when a lecturer of Jewish descent at Copenhagen University was abducted in broad daylight by a gang of Arabs and severely beaten for having recited from the Qu'ran as part of his course. Nothing similar had happened during the university's more than 525 years of history [...] In this situation the paper felt that it was imperative to test whether we still enjoyed free speech – including the right to treat Islam, Muhammad and Muslims exactly as you would any other religion, prophet or group of believers. If we no longer had that right, one could only conclude that the country had succumbed to de facto sharia law.<sup>25</sup> (4)

After much debate amongst the respective editors, it was decided that the cartoons were to be moved from the main part of the newspaper to the 'softer' cultural section. Both editors wrote editorials in their respective sections. Juste wrote of what he called a "sickly oversensitivity in Islam", describing the Muslim clerics in Denmark as being voices from "a dark and violent age". He went on to argue:

Any provocation against one of the self-important imams or mad-mullahs is instantly interpreted against the Prophet himself or the holy book, the Koran, and then trouble ensues. The Islamic spiritual leaders feel called upon to gripe and an army of

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<sup>25</sup> The word sharia means "the path" or "the path to water". The custom-based body of law based on the Qu'ran and the religion of Islam. The sacred law of Islam; Islamic law and also referred to as Muslim law. Because, some Muslim states are theocracies, religious texts are law, the latter distinguished by Islam and Muslims in their application, as Sharia or Sharia law. So thorough is the integration of the justice system and Church under Sharia law that Sharia courts are essentially religious courts; judges are usually local church (Mosque) officials. (Definition taken from Duhaime.org.)



intellectually underequipped followers respond and do what is interpreted as the Prophet's command and ultimately kill the offenders. (Qtd. in Klausen 13)

Flemming Rose, in his editorial, focused on the cartoons as a symbol of freedom of expression, against political correctness and self-censorship. The rhetoric was harsh, but by no means out of sync with that used in public and political debates by prominent politicians and other opinion makers. It is however an important point to make that this really was a typical example of views instead of news. Juste and Rose had a clear agenda. They were certainly not reporting, but rather manufacturing news, provoking a debate on what they saw as problematic taboos encroaching on the perceived Danish culture of freedom of speech.

What is also pivotal at this point, is to distinguish the many different interpretations as the illustrators responded to the task set. Twelve in total, they appear on the low profile page three of the cultural section. Set around a page framed with the caption: Muhammeds Ansigt (Faces of Muhammed) importantly they are certainly not pertaining to a single, coherent and unifying discourse. Out of the twelve cartoons, attempts at depicting the Prophet make up only seven of these. One depicts Kaare Bluitgen, one is of a line-up (with Bluitgen), one shows a schoolboy (identified as Mohammed on his T-shirt) in front of a blackboard, one is a drawing of a cartoonist drawing and lastly one of the illustrations shows symbols pertaining to the Islamic faith. Five of the cartoons have texts and six of them attempt to be funny. The irony is only in one of these instances directed at the religion of Islam. This is the cartoon of a man (supposedly) depicting Muhammed, standing on a cloud, presuming to be guarding the gates of heaven, telling a group of men that heaven is running out of virgins. Two drawings make fun of Bluitgen, one directs an ironic remark at the editors of *Jylland Posten* and lastly, one is a self-deprecating joke of the cartoonist himself. The cartoons are generally not easily 'read' or understood by an international audience as they rely heavily on a knowledge of the Danish context at the time and Danish history in general. At least five cannot be properly understood without knowing current Danish personalities and standard Danish anecdotes. Three only make sense in combination with the text, which in turn, are plays on words on well-known Danish expressions. Attempting to do a google translation of these renders completely nonsensical statements. It seems fair to say that the illustrators were by no means



united and cannot be said to have sided with or against any particular discourse as a cohesive group<sup>26</sup>.

As a group however, they have responded with a mixture of anger and incomprehension at the global crisis that we now refer to on the back of their publicised work. Klausen cites how they generally “described the work as carried out in haste, expressing regret that they did not put in more effort and thought into the job, considering how much attention the cartoons got” (25).

Ultimately, however, only one of the twelve cartoons has come to epitomize the publication. Kurt Westergaard’s cartoon, placed at the very top of the page, has taken all the headlines. The image of a heavily-bearded man with a bomb in his turban has been at the forefront of the debate ever since. Supposedly depicting the Prophet, it has the Shahada, the Muslim declaration of faith, ‘engraved’ into the bomb/turban. Westergaard’s stated intention was to “show that radical Muslims use the Prophet’s name to justify violence<sup>27</sup>” (Qtd. in Klausen 22). Ironically, the general interpretation has been the complete reverse; namely that the Prophet is the source of the violence<sup>28</sup>. Westergaard has, however, drawn a similar depiction numerous times. As the resident cartoonist of *Jyllands Posten* he had previously drawn highly contentious depictions of Muslims, many of which “suggest the association of Islam with terrorism, or terrorists with Islam” (Hervik, “The Danish Conflict” 33)<sup>29</sup>. Many commentators have pointed to the irony that is Westergaard’s own upbringing in the very conservative, and often described as backward, region of Northern Jutland. Here he grew up in a small town, where “he grew up amongst devout Christians and, like everyone else, attended Sunday school, where he learned about the existence of God and Satan” (Broder 2). By all accounts it seems that the young, artistic boy struggled to adapt to this very rigid understanding of the world. Indeed, he early on moved away from his parents, rejecting their

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<sup>26</sup> A more in-depth analysis of the cartoons can be found in chapter four, the chapter where the drawings also are to be found.

<sup>27</sup> Sadly, it seems that Westergaard’s suggestion of a radicalisation of Muslims, through certain interpretations of the Qu’ran, are justifying acts of terrorism. Indeed, just within the year of 2015 we have seen the massacre of staff members of the satirical publication of Charlie Hebdo as well as the Paris attacks. Both of these episodes can certainly be said to be located within Huntington’s clash of civilisations; however because of the limited scope of this thesis I have chosen not to include them here.

<sup>28</sup> This thereby accurately exemplifying the hiatus between authorial intent and interpretative proliferation.

<sup>29</sup> Please find examples of these illustrations in the appendix.

faith and becoming an outspoken atheist. Even today we find many clear indications in his works of his hatred towards what he sees as the repressive nature of organised religion. Over the years as an editorial cartoonist for various newspapers, he has indeed satirised most of the major religions.

In general the initial reaction from the readership of *Jyllands Posten* was mixed. The regular reader of the paper had come to expect this sort of rhetoric and were not overly perturbed by the cartoons. Some readers did write to the paper calling for a more inclusive, less confrontational rhetoric, but this criticism was purely aimed at the editors and their editorials and not the cartoons<sup>30</sup>. The escalation was, nonetheless, underway. A little over a week after the initial publication, Danish Imams and mosque leaders sent a letter to the newspapers editors asking for an official apology and a retraction. Their argument was based on the claim that what the *Jyllands Posten* was using was hate speech towards a minority<sup>31</sup> and they prepared a lawsuit based on law 140, also called the blasphemous law. Carsten Juste wrote another editorial, in which he again defended *Jyllands Posten*'s right to write what it wants, arguing that he was happy to let the courts of the country examine the case. As a matter of fact, on October 27 the following month, this complaint was indeed filed, only for The Danish District Public Prosecutor (on January 7th, the following year) to decide that the suit filed "cannot proceed because no legal grounds exist for suing *Jyllands Posten* for blasphemy. The next day the organization appealed the decision to the National Prosecutor's Office" (Klausen 188). The appeals was also rejected.

Meanwhile eleven ambassadors and delegates representing Muslim countries sent a letter to the Danish Prime Minister, Anders Fogh Rasmussen. In the letter they politely requested a meeting to discuss the publication of the cartoons and the editorials<sup>32</sup>. Referring to the matter as "urgent" and as "the on-going smear campaign in the Danish media", they asked the government, and the Prime Minister as the person responsible, "to take all those responsible

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<sup>30</sup> In a curious caveat it is worthwhile noting that the cultural section in which the cartoons were placed "rather coincidentally also was included in the online version of the newspaper" (Hervik 123), thereby placing it forever in the archives of the internet and at the disposal of not just the 150.000 households who bought their Friday morning paper, but the world at large.

<sup>31</sup> The number of Muslims living in Denmark is estimated to be "about 200 000" (Hervik 15) of a population of 5.5 million. Their countries of origin are in excess of 50 and it is believed that only about 30 000 are practising believers.

<sup>32</sup> Please find a copy of the letter from the Muslim delegates in the appendix.

to task under the law of the land” (Ambassadors letter 12. October 2005). The letter is not publicised and the Danish public is not informed of this request. Anders Fogh Rasmussen ignores the ambassador’s request, but does write a response (also not publicised<sup>33</sup>). In Fogh Rasmussen’s response he states:

The freedom of expression is the very foundation of the Danish democracy. The freedom of expression has a wide scope and the Danish government has no means to influence the press. However, Danish legislation prohibits expressions of a blasphemous and discriminatory nature. The offended party may bring such acts or expressions to court, and it is for the courts to decide in the individual cases. (Anders Fogh Rasmussen’s letter 21. October 2005)

Closing down any means of diplomatic discourse, the Danish Prime Minister had thereby shut out any meaningful mediation on the part of the government. When the letters were released to the public in late March 2006, many had come to believe this to be a grave mistake and a missed opportunity to calm down the ensuing crisis. Here is how Westergaard himself recounted the initial reactions in the *Daily Princetonian*<sup>34</sup>:

The initial reaction to the cartoons was fair. Many people –both Muslims and non-Muslims – were very angry at what they saw as an attempt to ridicule and offend a whole religion, and my contribution in particular was held out for criticism. Many of my fellow journalists joined a number of politicians, intellectuals, artists and Danish ex-diplomats in condemning *Jyllands Posten*’s actions, and three thousand Muslims marched through the centre of Copenhagen in a peaceful protest. Eleven diplomats from Muslim countries asked for a meeting with our prime minister in order to elicit a state apology for the cartoons. He refused to meet them, stating that Denmark enjoys freedom of the press and that it was not his business to apologize for something a newspaper had done. All was as it should be in a democratic country with free speech. People certainly had a right to voice their opinion, just as I had the right to voice mine. In December 2005 and January 2006, however, things turned ugly. A delegation of Danish Imams toured the Middle East in an attempt to stir up anger against the cartoons, and they brought with them some disgusting pictures that had never been

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<sup>33</sup> Please find a copy of the response from the Prime Minister in the appendix.

<sup>34</sup> The piece of quotation is taken from an editorial he penned in 2009, after having spoken to the students at Princeton University.

published by any Danish newspaper. The outcome was predictable. Soon the entire Muslim erupted in violent demonstrations that claimed the lives of more than 130 people. *Jyllands Posten*'s cartoonists and editors received death threats. Danish embassies were burned down. Danish goods were boycotted. The entire Danish political class went into panic when it realized that this was the worst foreign policy crisis to have hit the country since World War II. (1)

After eliciting little response in Denmark, the Danish Imams set out on a trip to several Muslim countries in the Middle East. Lead by the four most prominent Imams in the country, Ahmed Abu Laban, Ahmed Akkari, Abu Bashir and Rayed Hlalhel (each responsible for the country's four biggest mosques in the four biggest cities), spearheaded a group of six religious leaders tour of the region. Klausen recounts the masterplan put together by the four:

Ironically, the plan's success depended on making sure that Muslims' anger was aroused, and to do that, the activists had to make sure Muslims saw the forbidden cartoons. The cartoons were pinned up on bulletin boards in mosques and circulated with invocations to protests. The use of text messages proved to be particularly successful in getting people to log on to *Jyllands Posten* web site and to vote en masse against the cartoons in an online poll set up by the paper. The culmination of the plan was the departure of two delegations to Cairo, Beirut and Damascus with a dossier containing the twelve cartoons as well as other material assembled by Hhayhel<sup>35</sup>.  
(145)

Speaking of the discrimination against the Muslim people to government officials as well as numerous print, radio and television outlets, they whipped up a strong response wherever they went. With them they had a dossier. The dossier was made up of 42 pages. All *Jylland Posten*'s cartoons are there, but the Imams also included three other pictures<sup>36</sup>. "One such picture was a man with a pig's snout and pig's ears and represented as Muhammed" (Hervik, "The Danish Conflict" 62) and two others depicts the Prophet in various sexual poses. The

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<sup>35</sup> Raed Hhayhel throughout played right into the hands of Rose and Juste, personifying the "Mad Mullah" they had described in their editorials. Frequently appearing in Danish news media, he spoke Danish very poorly, rejected outright the idea of democracy as a functional system of governance and seemed to know very little about the primary religion of Denmark. In one interview he threatened to "complain to the pope" (As quoted in Klausen 87). Denmark is an overwhelmingly protestant country.

<sup>36</sup> Please find the three unconnected and highly provocative cartoons in the appendix.

importance of this is immense because, as Smith remarks it negated an understanding of the other side the argument:

When the envoys from the Danish Muslim community travelled abroad seeking support for their protest of the *Jyllands-Posten* cartoons, the portfolio of examples that they took along included a number of images besides those that the Danish paper had published. The additions were much more unambiguously insulting depictions, including a cartoon showing a Muslim man kneeling in prayer being raped by a dog (an unclean animal in Muslim thought) and a photograph of a man wearing a pig mask who was alleged to be a representation of the Prophet. Most of the defenders in the debate seemed unaware of the existence of the latter images, creating a situation where the different sides were unwittingly arguing about the meaning of different things. At the very least, protestors were responding to what they saw as a gratuitous insult, whereas defenders frequently based their argument on the assumption that the contested images were intended as humorous. (23)

The news of the Imams' trip was not well received in Denmark, and as the death threats to the cartoonists, editors and general staff at *Jyllands Posten* increased by the day, Danes were told to restrict their travels in the Middle East and several staff members at the newspaper headquarters in Aarhus were placed under the protection of the Danish Efterretningstjenesten (Secret Service)<sup>37</sup>.

By February 2006 demonstrations against the cartoons and Denmark in general turned deadly in Muslim countries as diverse as Somalia, Indonesia, Afghanistan, India and Iran. In quick succession the Danish embassies in Jakarta, Tehran, Damascus and Cairo are "burned, firebombed and ransacked" (Klausen 192). The casualties are generally Muslim men, no Danes are hurt, but all ambassadors to the region are recalled. Danish industry reports that the spread of a campaign to boycott Danish products are incurring massive losses. Danish economist Hans Rask Jensen reported that:

In continuation of the boycott of Danish products in the Middle East, thirteen supermarkets in Europe's largest supermarket chain, Carrefour, decided in mid-February 2006 to remove Danish goods, including Arla products, from its shelves in

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<sup>37</sup> In the decade since the initial publication of the Muhammad cartoons several of the cartoonist had to live in hiding. Kurt Westergaard still, to this day, live a nomadic life being moved among Danish Secret Service safe houses.

Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Oman. At the same time, Nestlé Nido, a subsidiary of Nestlé, took out advertisements in newspapers in Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Oman stressing that Nido powdered milk was neither made in nor imported from Denmark. The advertisements also stressed that Nestlé condemned religious insults. One of the world's largest dairy companies, Fonterra of New Zealand, also pointed out to Saudi Arabian readers through the medium of newspaper advertisements that its Anchor product was not a Danish milk powder despite the fact that Anchor had appeared on the boycott list. Arla subsequently decided to distance itself from the Jyllands-Posten cartoons both at the food trade fair in Dubai and through newspaper advertisements in Saudi Arabia. It subsequently came to light that Arla and several other Danish firms had signed declarations to the effect that they would not do business with Israel in order to obtain commercial contracts in the Middle East. This practice has apparently been commonplace for many years and the Confederation of Danish Industries was aware of it. (4)

By 2007, Arla, the Danish and Swedish owned dairy concern, reported losses upwards of 3 billion Danish kroner, and had been forced to lay off an estimated 200 Danish workers. However the company did also note that “On the other hand, the Mohammed cartoons controversy was supposed to have triggered "Buy Danish" campaigns in the USA. (*Jyllands-Posten*, 23 February 2006)

Back in Denmark, Westergaard and three of the other cartoonists continue to live under ground. To date an estimated 200 lives have been lost in escalating violent demonstrations. Denmark continues to support the American invasions in the Middle East in a military capacity<sup>38</sup> and the cartoons are continually reprinted by a wide variety of newspapers around the world. Writing this in 2015, a full decade after the initial publication, it is remarkable, to the point of being surreal, to see the media daily referring to those cartoons and its continuing aftermath. Literally not a day goes by without a mention of what in some circles have been dubbed “the Muhammad crisis”. Driven on either sides of the debate by both nations and individuals with huge vested interest, it seems unlikely to abate any time soon.

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<sup>38</sup> Many argue that these imperialistic “crusades” into the Middle East are wholly counterproductive in creating stable societies there. According to Hugh Roberts: “The serial wars of intervention (primarily led by the U.S.) IN THE Middle East and North Africa since the 1990’s and the “Global War on Terror” since 2001 have provided the most unfavourable context for such a change (democratic) that one could image (3).

Initially, however, the media focused on the rather banal idea of an apology. Would the Danes apologise? Would the Imams? Should the excuse come from the Danish government or the cartoonists themselves? The need to assign blame was clearly important and this, as we all know, only served to draw the lines of the parties even sharper and simplify the debate. Both editors have since apologised for the hurt caused, but not for the publication itself. Anders Fogh Rasmussen spoke in his New Year's Speech in 2006, televised every year on New Year's eve as a sort of state of the union address, about not "personally agreeing with the decision of the editors of *Jyllands Posten*" (Qtd. in Becker 123). Laying blame and accepting it are certainly never easy, and it is interesting to note to what extent even this aspect of the crisis became entangled in an intercultural misunderstanding. As Klausen points out, an apology is indeed a very culturally determined concept:

Americans think it is a decent thing to say sorry when bad things happen. The English might even apologize for things they have not done just to make people feel better. Muslims think that an apology is a way of showing respect for the other party. In international diplomacy, an apology can be an expedient device for getting a concession. Danes, however, take the narrower view that an 'apology' is only for cases when you intentionally do something wrong. If you accidentally kick a soccer ball through a window because the wind blows the ball that way, you are not obliged to apologize. It was beyond your control. Whether the ball lands in the window because your aim was bad or because you intended to break the window for reasons of mischief calls for different degrees of apology. An apology is an admission of guilt, and a loss of face is involved. Danes strongly resisted apologizing for the insult caused by the cartoons. And even if an apology was called for, who was responsible for making it? The Danish government refused to apologize, for as Anders Fogh Rasmussen, the prime minister, said repeatedly during the conflict, '*You cannot apologize for something you have not done*'. The newspaper did it, and consequently the government was under no obligation to make an apology. Danish public opinion was strongly against apologizing to Muslims. (32) (Emphasis mine)

Consequently, the cartoon crisis was allowed to spiral out of control. The lack of diplomacy on the part of the Danish government has been named numerous times as a key mistake in the analysis of the aftermath of the crisis. Whereas the editors and a majority of the cartoonists felt that the reaction from Muslims ultimately justified what they had set out to do, the Danish government was in a position where, to be seen to pander, by apologising, to the



Muslim community, would have hurt their domestic political situation. The conservative party needed the support of the right-wing parties, especially the Nationalist Dansk Folkeparti, and simply could not retract on their original stance on the matter. Therefore they squarely kept the political spin focused on the fact that freedom of expression was a constitutional issue, and as such outside of their immediate realm of control. There is little doubt that, had the Prime Minister, as a spokesperson of Denmark as a state, directly condemned the cartoons, instead of distancing himself from them, the situation would have been very different. Fogh-Rasmussen could have diffused the tension much earlier and much more unequivocally, he could have prevented the rage and the violence that swept through several countries in the Middle East. This was an instance in which no one wanted, nor could afford, to lose face.

Certainly it is true that what started in Denmark in 2005 in a specific setting and context, has now become a global issue. The little story arising in a local context, continues to be a big story in a global context. Whether or not the “crisis” was the product of provocative editors using their newspaper to promote their neo-liberal ideas or opportunistic religious leaders overreacting to some poorly drawn sketches, seems a moot point. The issue persists in sparking debates, demonstrations and, sadly, deaths. Every reprinting of the cartoons is accompanied by yet another political agenda, yet another (often violent) response or reaction.

Yet, ultimately, there is not just one discourse, but multiple aspects to the debate. The cartoons might somehow remain at the base of the arguments, but they have since been hijacked and used in support of so many different agendas since 2005. To this extent, what we have is what Norman Fairclough calls “mediated discourses (23)”.

In his seminal book *Language and Power*, Fairclough coins the term “mediated discourses”, defining it as a quarrel about discursive hegemony<sup>39</sup>. Seeing language use as a communicative event, Fairclough’s focus is on how to distinguish between how producers of news “circulate and create meaning by framing”<sup>40</sup> (56). This framing contributes to the domination of some people by others. It helps a group accentuate and promote certain aspects

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<sup>39</sup> Language, Fairclough argues, is divided into three dimensions:

1. The concrete (Linguistic) expression.
2. The discursive practice involved.
3. The social practice in this area.

<sup>40</sup> Framing is here used in the sense of choosing one particular meaning over another, and, in turn, promoting this meaning or view.



of their agenda, whilst suppressing a competing discourse. It becomes a battle of power achieved through the ideological workings of language. Furthermore, Fairclough speaks of the concept of “Member Resources” (44). Member Resources are socially generated, a kind of culturally developed set of ‘abilities’ belonging to particular classes or groups of society. These, we then use to interpret texts or discourses. As possessing these, a group in agreement on a point, we project our understanding as universal and true. In doing so, Fairclough argues, we assert not only that our interpretation, our side of the story, represents ‘common-sense’, but ultimately we assert our ideological power.

Caricature and cartoons are especially open to the kind of interpretation Fairclough terms “selective perception” (99). Exactly because of its shortcomings in providing us with a figure or background, which is often the case with a picture, cartoons demand of us this ideological interpretative power. In ‘reading’ and understanding a cartoon we use our Member Resources. In understanding, or not understanding, the social conditions underlying the production of a given cartoon, we either associate and become empowered by this association, or feel alienated and excluded from the discursive hegemony. This seems to be the crux of the problem of living in a multicultural society, or what Henkel calls “the challenges that increasingly pluri-cultural societies seems to pose for the social cohesion of established nation states” (74). Following Fairclough’s theoretical framework, we can distinguish between three different discourses in Denmark during and post the cartoons.

In what we could call the judicial discourse, it is for the court to decide the legality involved in the publication of the cartoons. As we have seen, this was tested by the group of Imams and the courts did not find any transgressions. The courts insisted that the cartoons constituted fair comment. They were found to be in poor taste, but not in breach of the blasphemy law<sup>41</sup>. Furthermore the court stated in its ruling that what they termed the “caricature case” represented a viewpoint of a specific news outlet and crucially not Denmark or Danes as a whole. Within the theoretical framework as stated above it is important to note that in the judicial discourse, the words ‘crisis’, ‘Muhammed’ or ‘Denmark’ as “loaded markers” are non-existent. That is because, we are here dealing with a legal evaluation of events. This is not about ‘the clash of civilizations’, there is no social context applied (except for that of the legal context), only the parameters of the law. Interestingly, the Danish law does not allow for what Flemming Rose later said was his aim; namely to “ridicule and

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<sup>41</sup> The full statement as published by the office of the Rigsadvokaten (State Attorney) on 15. March 2006 as act. No. RA-2006-41-0151 can be found on <http://www.rigsadvokaten.dk>.

insult” (12) someone’s faith or religion, but this was crucially not the case brought to court. This then leaves us with the two competing discourses that since the publication, has filled the media. We could call them the ‘discourse of Insult’ and the discourse of ‘Freedom of expression’.

At this point it seems prudent to go back to the editors and their reasons for printing the unedited illustrations of the Prophet Muhammad. Being editors of the biggest newspaper in a small country, means having an enormous amount of power in framing the discourse there. Having a loyal readership naturally also means knowing their socially generated Member Resources. Indeed knowing what these resources are, make up the very core of the job of the editors and their handmaiden, the editorial cartoonist. We have also seen that the publication of the cartoons was not a case of covering the news, but rather, a concrete example of manufacturing it. By conducting the experiment of having the illustrators draw Muhammed, the editors wished to make a point. They had an agenda. Their position then guaranteed them ideological power, an opportunity to use this power through controlled and mediated ‘language’ to dominate some people over others. The editorials that accompanied the twelve drawings state this clearly. The framing of the cartoons as literally stating the depiction of the Prophet’s face and ‘being’ brings this point further home. There can be no mistaking that the editors knew what they were doing. For them the object of the exercise from the beginning was to prove that there was a difference between “the Danes” and “the Muslims”<sup>42</sup>. They clearly wanted to question the Islamic belief system, by undermining their founding and most sacred icon. Under the guise of revoking burgeoning self-censorship and political correctness, the newspaper claimed to tackle the culture of taboos they identified as Islam. It is important to note that this by no means was something radically new in the Danish context. For a decade and a half the media and the politicians had been tapping in to an increasingly insecurity within Danish society. Nielsen describes this trend accordingly:

Behind all the trouble lies an uncertainty of Danish self-identity of a magnitude that deserves the epithet *Kulturkampf*. Is Denmark going to participate in the wider world other than through trade or is it going to restrict itself to sitting on the sidelines, defending its past? This is possibly a little harsh. After all, Denmark has had a

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<sup>42</sup> As a caveat, it is of interest to note that the hegemonic narrative of Huntington’s “West” no longer speaks of a group of people, which we could more accurately denominate as Arabs, but now exclusively refers to a Muslim population. This immensely diverse group of people now solely defined on the spurious basis of their believed religious inclination.

commendable internationalist history since 1945 as an active member of the United Nations and one of very few countries to have long met the UN's agreed level of contribution to development aid. But that was the world out there. Since the 1970's, that world has increasingly entered into Denmark, and much of the country has defended itself by turning to the imagined resource of 'Danishness'. Denmark's Euroscepticism rests on very different foundations than that of Britain. An increasingly important part of those foundations is the country's Lutheran Christian identity. But this is a contested area. Many remain secular and desire to keep religion out of the public space altogether. Others want to make space for religion in public, but they are split between those – Christians and Muslims – whose claims are absolute, and they are the ones who dominated the discourse during the crisis, and those whose claims are inclusive. (231-232)

In keeping with the political rhetoric in Denmark at the time, they wanted to assert that essential national values were being taken away from them. The fact that only a handful of the actual drawings seem to support this supposition, curiously had little impact on the editors. It is interesting how this plurality of people's inclinations, as illustrated in the illustrators' diversified contributions, was brushed aside. The discourse that interested the editors was that of confrontation - the discourse of the peace-loving and 'democratically-civilised' Danes versus the Islamic fundamentalists. Henkel explains the need for an outsider or 'uncivilized' Other accordingly:

As the cartoon crisis unfolded, it quickly became clear that this ethno-nationalist right and multicultural left had lost much of its meaning in the Danish debate and helped little to explain the frontlines of the conflict. In fact the two camps seemed to have merged into one and all of a sudden a new political constellation had emerged: on the one side, Denmark's Muslim minority, and on the other side, a broad majority of the Danish public, defined by its critique of the Muslim community. While this Muslim minority was defined by its indignation over the cartoons (on various grounds). The Danish majority public demanded that Muslims had to tolerate the offensive cartoons and sharply criticised them for refusing to do so. In other words, while previously the demand for tolerance was primarily directed toward illiberal tendencies within Danish (or German or Dutch etc.) society, now it became directed toward the Muslim minority. (76)

Tolerance was no longer something to demonstrate yourself, it was all about displaying the intolerance in others. In other words, the cartoons succeeded in uniting the Danes in asserting the moral high ground through the ideological discourse fed to them by *Jyllands Posten*. Based on the assumption that Islam is singular and a faith full of taboos and intolerance, they set out to provoke the Muslim followers and to show the Danes this quality. Flemming Rose's main argument clearly stated that he deliberately wanted and intended to "insult, mock and ridicule" ("Muhammeds Ansigt", 1) Muslims in Denmark. Subsequently he spoke of his "duty to publish", arguing that he meant not to exclude or alienate, but rather to integrate Muslims. By treating Muslims like everyone else he was showing them respect, welcoming them into Danish society. The patronising tone and discursive practice did, however, not help the Muslims to generate what Rose saw as an essential Member Resource, needed to function in Danish society. If this, indeed, was an attempt to integrate through insult, it backfired. A quick look at the concrete linguistic expressions used in his, and chief editor, Carsten Juste's editorials, certainly do not seem very inclusive. Muslims clerics are referred to as voices from a "dark and violent middle age" and their followers as "intellectually underequipped followers". (Qtd. in Klausen 13)

As the conflict picked up pace and the Imams and the demonstrations took over the front pages and 'Breaking News' slots of the media, the freedom of expression discourse became increasingly antagonistic, lead in Denmark by the Nationalist Party and its leader, Pia Kjaersgaard:

This is not a clash of cultures, because in the crisis there is only one – ours. It is a battle between values, on one hand between a dogmatic and dictatorial type of society without room for democracy and diversity, with forced faith for some and forced infidel for the rest of us, and on the other hand, our free, democratic, tolerant and developed society. (1)

The claiming of contentious terms such as 'civilized', 'developed' and 'tolerant' was right at the top of the fight for the hegemony of the discourse. The spin doctors were working overtime and indeed all the politicians had to involve themselves. Even the once so left-leaning, now had to jump on the bandwagon of opportunism in the name of winning Danish votes. Here a somewhat exaggerated contribution from the opportunistic opposition leader Lars Hedegaard, in response to what he terms the "Arab rage against Denmark" and its potential influence on Danish society:

We can give up on scientific study of history and most of the humanities, besides many aspects of the exact sciences that go against the holy writings of Islam. The public school curriculum will be adjusted to guidelines coming from Islamic centres of learning. Creative artists will have to look over their shoulders, before becoming too daring. Because, in the Muslim culture there is a tradition of slitting the throats of people who speak their mind. (3)

This sort of discourse certainly served to instil panic and fear in the Danish population, which once again aided in drawing the lines between the two groups.

Islam is continually described as a threat, something to be feared. This rhetoric by no means was exclusive to the Danish population, but indeed the entire internet is filled with fear-mongering websites warning against the imminent rule of the world by Muslims, and interpretations, such as the one below from Bill Warner, from Center For the Study of Political Islam, on the website Creepingsharia.com, which warns of how the world will be governed:

Sharia: Sharia is based on the principles found in the Koran and other Islamic religious/political texts. There are no common principles between American law and Sharia.

Under Sharia law:

- There is no freedom of religion
- There is no freedom of speech
- There is no freedom of thought
- There is no freedom of artistic expression
- There is no freedom of the press
- There is no equality of peoples—a non-Muslim, a Kafir, is never equal to a Muslim
- There is no equal protection under Sharia for different classes of people. Justice is dualistic, with one set of laws for Muslim males and different laws for women and non-Muslims.
- There are no equal rights for women

- Women can be beaten
- A non-Muslim cannot bear arms
- There is no democracy, since democracy means that a non-Muslim is equal to a Muslim
- Our Constitution is a man-made document of ignorance, jahiliyah, that must submit to Sharia
- Non-Muslims are dhimmis, third-class citizens
- All governments must be ruled by Sharia law
- Unlike common law, Sharia is not interpretive, nor can it be changed. (3)

Spreading the word that Muslims are full of temper, that they are ignorant and unenlightened, was the order of the day. Indeed, within the freedom of expression discourse, the terms Muslim, Islamist, non-Western and even terrorist, soon came to be used interchangeably. The advocates of the freedom of expression discourse claimed that those different to ‘us’ are dangerous and ultimately the root of the problems in society. The Danes, and the world at large, were told that identity was at stake. Freedom of expression was positioned as the essential quality of the Western world, the dividing factor between the fascist Muslim World and the West. Defending this right was to become quintessential in the fight against their new enemy. For many supporters of this discourse, Brook’s response to the conflict from his chair at the Ayn Rand Institute seems to encapsulate the most salient points:

Free speech protects the rational mind: it is the freedom to think, to reach conclusions and express one’s views without fear of coercion of any kind. And it must include the right to express unpopular and offensive views, including the outright criticism of religion. If intimidation and threats are allowed to compel writers, cartoonists, thinkers and institutes of learning into self-censorship, the right to freedom is lost. If Muslims are allowed to pressure critics of Islam into silence, critics of religion will be next. And then everyone else. (12)

The third line of discourse came from the Muslim community in and outside Denmark. What I have chosen to call the “insult discourse” focused primarily on the denigration of the Muslim religion at the hands of pseudo-liberals operating within an imperialistic and anti-Muslim set of ideals. Seeing the representation of the Prophet (by some interpretations of the

Qur'an considered prohibited) as a deliberate attempt to insult the most venerable and venerated figure within a minority culture, this example of iconoclastic behaviour was deemed yet another example of what was termed Islamophobia, and was largely condemned as the further demonization of Muslims. This was yet another example of political spin designed to show the West's moral superiority over their oriental counterpart. Generally Muslims felt they were manufactured (to use Chomsky's terminology) into an incompatible and degenerate group of terrorists, deemed unable to function within a secular and democratic society because of their religious ideals. Linking the prophet to the concept of terrorism plainly reduced all Muslims, because of their religious convictions, to the very image of the enemy. Peter Hervik accounts for this reasoning as the basis of the insult discourse accordingly:

In the Danish media coverage of the cartoon crisis – particularly in the frame “Freedom of speech as a Danish freedom”, Muslims and Islamists respectively are treated as the enemy to be contained, while at the same time national identity is being built through this enemy imagery. [...] about 80 % of the Danish voters see the relationship between native Danish and Muslims as incompatible. This enemy is needed for the construction of Danish national identity, a project that has been emerging in Denmark since the mid 1990's. In this period a number of studies have demonstrated a rigid dichotomization between the morally superior Danes (with free speech, for instance) and the “Others”, non-Westerners and particularly Muslims, who do not have free speech and whose “static, un-evolving culture” is “hundreds of years behind” [...] Within this dichotomization it has become legitimate to treat newly arriving immigrants as different from native Danes. (“The Danish Conflict” 88)

There can be no doubt that a majority of the Muslim community inside and outside thought their religion (and in particular their Prophet) hijacked and insulted by a majority of Western voices, not just that of a single newspaper or a few cartoonists. It was construed as an attack by the Danish people, a sentiment even echoed by the UN Commission Special Rapporteur, Mr Dodou Diene, who alleged that the Danish government had “failed to show the commitment and vigilance that it normally displays in combating religious intolerance and incitement to religious hatred and promoting religious harmony” (10).

The cartoons were seen as a calculated attack on the faith, and very humanity, of a fragile minority. For many Muslims, the prime minister's refusal to intervene in the matter proved



that the sentiments expressed by *Jyllands Posten* and its contributors, were indeed the views held at large by the Danish population. This was, according to this discourse, never a case of freedom of speech, but just another part of a much bigger conspiracy by anti-Muslim powers to discredit Islam. The idea of turning the American “War on Terror” into a full blown “War on Islam” was understood within this discourse to be targeting Muslims, not just in Denmark, but on a global scale. Ibrahim Saleh in his incisive study of the cartoon crisis entitled “The Bubble World of Polarization: Failure to Realize the Blind Spots in the Cartoon Controversy”, sheds some more nuanced light on the reactions in Muslim community. First and foremost he argues that Muslims cannot just be put into any one box. The reactions were by no means the same in countries as different as Somalia and Malaysia, for instance:

While the cartoons have infuriated Muslims, the regional dynamics underlying the conflict have been evolving for decades, during which leaders have tried to stall the rise of Islamic political appeal by trying to establish themselves as guardians of the faith. It is logical to deduce that even the Western governments have resorted to the very practices that helped the rise of Islamic political forces in the first place. They have placated the more extreme voices while arresting and silencing more moderate ones. I suggest two overlapping factors in the nature of the coverage of the controversy. The first is the highly selective representation of events in the news, influenced by the ideological structure of prevalent news values, emphasizing conflict and polarization. The second factor is tied to a Western-based interpretation of Muslims. Those outside Islam tend to make sweeping generalisations about Muslims in Muslim/Arab countries and Muslims who are either immigrants or native-born in non-Muslim countries. Yet Muslims represent a wide variety of beliefs and ethnicities, ranging from Albanians, Afghans and Algerians to Yemenis. (177)

Indeed the worldwide Muslim community is a diaspora of different nationalities and cultures including Arabs, Bengalis, Bosnians, Caribbeans, Chinese, Indians, Indonesians, Iranians, Lebanese, Pakistanis, Palestinians, Senegalese, Somalis and Turks. We must keep this in mind, when we evaluate the response and the framing thereof by the Western media. To label the extreme fundamentalism of the Taliban or ISIS, who ultimately want the resurrection of the caliphate, and the Muslim democratically elected Welfare Party in Turkey, as both Islamists groupings, is too simplified an understanding and frankly not conducive to a progressive debate.



There is in the discourse of insult a focus on the double standards of the West. Often this argument is linked to the laws, implemented by many European countries (France, Switzerland, Spain and Germany, to name a few) about Holocaust denial<sup>43</sup>. This centres on the contentious point of why it is illegal, indeed criminal, and seen as an incitement to violence, to voice anti-Semitic statements, but not an offence to defame the religion, history and culture of Islam<sup>44</sup>? It is largely seen, by the proponents of this discourse that this again is evidence of secular, neo-liberal and capitalist-driven propaganda, protecting the Western-backed state of Israel, at the expense of and without remembering the plight of the Muslims. Detrimental to this line of thinking and discourse was ultimately the very few ‘Danish’ voices that came out in support; one such was, however, the former EU commissioner and Danish foreign minister who dryly noted that:

If we Danes wish to preserve dialogue with other cultures and religions – and even wish that they buy our milk products – then we cannot demand that they all accept our norms, least of all when they are exposed to disdain, mockery and sarcasm. If we insist that they have to tolerate that, we are all firmly anchored in ‘the Danish village pond’ where everybody is convinced of her/his infallibility and therefore not able to get on in a globalised world. (Elleman-Jensen 2)

Unfortunately, this sort of balanced and nuanced perspective on Danish righteousness, found little traction with the broad population. The breaking news read that Denmark was under attack, the barbaric Muslims were burning our flag and torching our embassies. Thus, with a rhetoric primarily inspired by that of the U.S post-9/11, the Danes remained focused on differences and fear of the Other, rather than pointing the finger towards themselves<sup>45</sup>. This decidedly was not a time of self-appraisal. As we shall see in the case of the cartoon crisis in South Africa, the ability to critically engage with representations of oneself is indeed an extremely difficult thing to do.

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<sup>43</sup> It is crucially in a judicial sense, however, that the Holocaust happened. It is a historically factual event, as oppose to the religion of Islam, which is a belief which historical tenets and existence cannot be factually proven.

<sup>44</sup> Indeed these laws, against freedom of speech, have been expanded up through the 1970s, 80s and 90s and been used especially in France, where “In May 2005, *Le Monde*, France’s premier left-leaning newspaper, was found guilty of defaming Jews in a 2002 editorial that criticized Israeli policies while referring to Israel as “a nation of refugees” (Saleh 175).

<sup>45</sup> What Said suggests needs to happen in a state like Denmark finds itself in, is a “transformation of social consciousness beyond that of a national consciousness” (“Culture and Imperialism” 278).

## Chapter 3

### The South African Perspective

When you vote for the ANC, you are also choosing to go to heaven. When you don't vote for the ANC you should know that you are choosing that man who carries a fork [...] who cooks people. When you are carrying an ANC membership card, you are blessed. When you get up there, there are different cards used but when you have an ANC card, you will be let through the gates of heaven<sup>46</sup>.

Jacob Zuma

So the Pres JZ has had his portrait painted and he doesn't like it. Do the poor enjoy poverty? Do the unemployed enjoy hopelessness? Do those who can't get housing enjoy homelessness? No one is having a good time. He should inspire the reverences he craves. This portrait is what he inspired. Shame neh<sup>47</sup>.

Tselane Tambo

This chapter contextualises and analyses selected Zapiro cartoons of President Jacob Zuma and other key public figures, as well as a few Zapiro cartoons that respond to the Danish cartoons. Establishing the context in which the cartoons were published, it focuses on examining how the publications came about and were received and treated in the media and by the politicians. Should there be consensus between the media and the government for the benefit of nation building? Is it necessary on the part of cartoonists to “temper” their

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<sup>46</sup> Said at an impromptu rally at the Mthatha city hall in the Eastern Cape. Quoted in *Sunday Times*, 6 Feb. 2011 under the heading “God is on ANC's side, Zuma tells crowd”.

<sup>47</sup> This tweet is the reaction to the court case brought by Jacob Zuma against Zapiro, from the daughter of the late ANC President Oliver Tambo.

views/work to take into consideration religious and cultural “sensitivities” in a modern, free society? Furthermore, the chapter discusses the reactions and discourses in the wake of the publication of the most controversial of African editorial cartoons.

As with the Muhammad cartoons in Denmark, the cartoons dubbed “The Rape of Justice” drawn by Jonathan Shapiro (Zapiro) in 2009 caused a massive uproar. In this part of the paper the focus will be on contextualisation and analysis of the events pre- and post the publication. Daniel Hammet writes that the cartoons came to “represent a critical geopolitical moment through which to analyse the entrenchment of democracy in South Africa” (“Zapiro and Zuma” 1), and they form another chapter in the critical and divisive role of editorial cartooning in the 21st century.

Essentially this examination will show that the two cartoon incidents that are the focus of this paper have many common traits, that they are comparable in a number of aspects, and indeed inform each other. Despite, at least at surface level, differing in content and context, it is my argument that the depiction, and the underlying intentions behind these illustrations, of the quintessential African leader and that of the head of the Muslim religion, share many of the same ideological tenets of reasoning. They are examples of iconoclasm and evident of how satire is no longer solely employed as the weapon of the weakest, but indeed, is being used by the mighty and powerful.

Whereas we might see the cartoon controversy in Denmark (and in Europe) as a process of testing a very established democracy and the rights therein, the Zapiro cartoons came at a contested time of nation (re)building and in a very young, and still fractious, South African democracy. It is, however, important to note that in many ways South Africa has come far down the road towards what Hammet calls, a “nascent democracy” (“Zapiro and Zuma” 12). However problematic this journey from apartheid and colonial rule has been, we must put it into an African perspective, as is done by Lyombe Eko:

Though satire is part of African comic art and oral communication systems, it was banned during the postcolonial era by authoritarian, one-party regimes. Journalists were required to observe ‘journalistic restraint for the sake of social tranquillity’. Only ‘constructive and responsible’ criticism (as determined by the government) was allowed. Those who did not toe the official line risked arrest, prosecution, banishment or death. The tightly controlled media became the main instrument for sustaining authoritarian regimes marked by ubiquitous cults of personality. Africa became the

continent of military dictators or ‘uniformed buzzards’ ‘presidents for life’, ‘fathers of the nation’ and so on. (3)

This extremely bleak historical context had, in many ways, been banished in South Africa. Whereas a number of countries right next door remain in abject states of apprehension and apathy, because of the iron-rule of tyrannical dictators, the Mandela-led era of improvement across all races and classes, had fostered an engaged and dynamic population.

It is noteworthy therefore at this junction to praise the transitional leaders of South Africa, ‘the founding fathers’ since the democratic elections and the architects of the constitution, for a much more progressive and healthy foundation, primarily the Constitution of 1996, for a more thoroughgoing and radical democracy<sup>48</sup> than most places on the continent and in the world.

Unfortunately, it is the continued reactionary ideology towards a more restrictive democracy (thereby limiting the freedom of expression), of especially the last government headed by Jacob Zuma since 2009, that has thrust the media and the cartoonists in South Africa into an adversarial relationship. As we shall see when we analyse the cartoons and the different reactions to these, the Zuma administration does not appreciate this overt critical stance towards their policies and members and rather, indeed ironically, seem to want a revert to apartheid era restraints and controls – like state control of the media.

The signs of this trend towards a closing down of freedom of speech and expression are widely reported. One example is the ANC’s continued support for a so called ‘Protection of State Information Bill’. This bill is designed to “hinder the free flow of information and therefore injure democracy”. It would deny any “public interest defence” meaning that “journalists cannot argue that they possess a classified document and publish it in the public interests [...] giving almost unlimited power for the ministry of state security, which ensures that South Africa moves backwards to old days – a security state” (Daniels 75).

At the same time the ANC’s political dominance post-apartheid, largely because of “its claiming hegemony over liberation struggle history” (Hammet, “Zapiro and Zuma” 92) has resulted in a political arena where fewer voices prevail. Indeed, the burgeoning of alternatives in the form of the political parties, like the Democratic Alliance (DA), and to a lesser degree

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<sup>48</sup> By radical democracy I mean, a democracy in constant change. A democracy in a state of flux of discussions and opinions, rather than a closed and fixed idea of the concept as laid out by a ruling party.

the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), has seen the democratic elements within ANC actively stifled by a disciplinarian and paranoid leadership within the ruling party. This finds South African democracy in a situation where voices of dissent from outside of ANC are increasingly labelled racist and counter-revolutionary, and voices straying from the party line within the party marginalised and suppressed. As Bompani reflects, it is a time of little openness:

If generally there is freedom of speech, there is also a price to pay for making opposition to the ruling African National Congress. (1139)

Indeed sentiment in South Africa is that the ANC and Zuma especially have tackled the development from an organisation of the liberation struggle, to a majority ruling party, rather poorly. For many the progress made towards Mandela's idea of the 'Rainbow Nation' has stalled, bogged down in cases of corruption, nepotism and plain incompetence. For Zuma and many of his cohorts the constant criticism by a 'skewed' and 'irresponsible' media is to be blamed. Glenda Daniels studied the relationship between the ANC and the media and succinctly summarizes this sentiment from the point of view of the ruling party:

The media was the symptom for the ANC of all that was wrong with society. When confronted with its own shortcomings, reflected in the media, the ANC displaced, or projected onto the media, its own failures. In a classical displacement process the media becomes the cause of society's malaise. What was the surplus in the discourse that made this super-ideology? Zizek cites Coca Cola (Coke) as not just a can of water and sugar but with a whole range of connotations around it, symbolising the 'freedom' of America and 'liberation' among other floating signifiers. There was something in Coke more than the object itself, more than sugar and water. In the ideological interpellations emanating from the ANC's hegemonic discourse, the media comprised the social fantasy of what was in the media – its journalistic role of telling the truth and being loyal to the public not the party - but in this displaced version, what it included was so much more: a conspiracy, an agenda, a capitalist plot, which was anti-transformation and hysterical. (151)

What this summary reflects is an ultimately rudimentary, but deep-lying, tension and contestation of what a democracy is and should be. The ANC in its relatively new capacity as the ruling party, continually seems bemused and chagrined in finding little common ground (with the media) in what it envisages as a common goal of building a new South Africa. The

idea that democracy, in its true nature, is inherently comprised of irreconcilable tensions, pluralist and full of divisions, does not sit well with the narrative intended and wished for by the ANC. For this regressive behaviour, regressive in the sense that it reminds South Africans of the restrictions imposed on the media by the apartheid government, the party has garnered very few supporters. Not surprisingly, the view from the media's perspective is one of incredulous exasperation. In the words of Mondli Makhanya, editor of the *Mail and Guardian* during Zapiro's tenure there, and during the controversy surrounding his "Rape of Justice" cartoons, the role that the ANC is expecting the media to play is one of a supporting act, rather than a legitimate main role. He voices his concerns accordingly:

We are now enemies of the people (in the eyes of the ANC). Most of the people in the ANC were used to being on the right side of history. They didn't expect to be taken on by the media. They wanted a honeymoon period. They wanted us to attend more ribbon-cutting events. (Qtd. in Daniels 124)

To this end, the response from the ANC has most markedly been seen in its running of the national television channels of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). Although having itself become what Onselen terms "a metonym for the ANC's poor management of public institutions"<sup>49</sup> it has adopted a completely supine attitude to the governing party, incredulously making an announcement in 2013 to be "striving for '70% good news'" (Qtd. in Onselen 118). Certainly a more patently clear way of controlling the agenda of its media outlet, is hard to find. Another way of manufacturing consent as it were, is seen in the party's hard line stance against critical voices in the media. As such the scare tactics deployed against such commentators as Shapiro, must be understood as expressing the ANC's unwillingness to share the control of the narrative of the 'new' South Africa. However, as Michael Smith points out, for Zapiro, this is not all bad:

The laundry list of lawsuits against the political cartoonist Jonathan Shapiro 'Zapiro' brought by an apparently oversensitive President Zuma leaves little doubt that this is an insecure, paranoid administration with a hair-trigger resort to litigation<sup>50</sup>. Exactly

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<sup>49</sup> The SABC has in the period from 1998 to the present day been bailed out (with taxpayer's money!) no fewer than six times.

<sup>50</sup> In the case of the Rape of Justice cartoon "Zuma was demanding R4-million for damage to his reputation and R1-million for harm to his dignity from Shapiro, *Sunday Times* editor-in-chief Mondli Makhanya and Avusa. In addition, he wants interest of 15.5%. This is one of several other claims, totalling about R45-million that Zuma has made against the media since 2006" (Daniels Dignity vs. Freedom of Expression 1).

where that leaves the satirist is exactly where he or she does best: having one's right to free speech threatened is precisely the sort of position in which the most acerbic social commentators love to find themselves, professionally speaking. (38)

As such the Zapiro cartoons must be seen as expressions of resistance to the political order and leadership of the day, to what Mason terms "the laager-like mentality of the regime" (231), but it has also come to involve the country's continued battle with colonial legacies as well as the process of de-politicisation of race. If the Muhammad cartoons were seen by some to be an attack on a minority, the series of cartoons of Zuma and his 'cronies' raping the Lady of Justice was construed by the ANC as a white, elitist attack on the new black leadership of South Africa. Therefore, one of the challenges is to understand "how the media's political communication can impact on highly treasured cultural beliefs within a cultural environment" (Labuschagne 368). In so far as the ability to read a newspaper, let alone a highly complex image conflating a multitude of ideologies, agendas etc., is still not the privilege of all in South Africa, we must acknowledge the natural difference in reception to the cartoons. As Labuschagne points out in the following text, South Africa remains a country with one foot in the first world and another in the third:

South Africa, with its status as a new democracy [...] enjoys the benefits of a constitutional state, with a modern Westernised constitution, (however) *this reflects only the formal trappings of the societal situation and is in many respects a one-dimensional picture of the status of cultural groups within the country*. The more nuanced and multi-faceted reality in South Africa is that a large section of society in the rural and peri-urban areas is still located within a historical-traditional political-cultural domain, but is compelled to function in a legal-rational milieu. (371) (My emphasis)

Very often, as we will see with the Zapiro cartoons, these contradictory values and realities come to constitute real moments of societal fracture and ensuing controversy. The distribution of what Fairclough refers to as 'Member Resources' is simply distributed too unevenly to warrant a homogenous understanding and appreciation of editorial cartooning.

As a political cartoonists in a transitional country, Zapiro continually explores the fissures between the many cultures, satirising the many (different) interpretations and approaches to democracy. In the latter years, his focus has shifted gradually from commenting on a variety

of issues within South Africa, to an increasingly narrow, and highly critical, focus on the ruling party and especially its leader, Jacob Zuma.

Born in Cape Town in 1958, Jonathan Shapiro although classified white, grew up in an anti-apartheid household. His parents were both involved in the struggle, but he only entered the political scene himself around the time of his conscription into the South African army. This proved to be a “cathartic moment” (Hammet, “Zapiro and Zuma” 89) and got him involved with the UDF (United Democratic Front), an anti-apartheid movement. Working for them, he started producing his first political cartoons and calendars, before going to study at the School of Visual Arts in New York. There he honed his skills, and readied himself for a future career in editorial cartooning. Upon returning, he quickly established himself “as the country’s leading political cartoonist” (Hammet, “Zapiro and Zuma” 89). Indeed, as June Duncan puts it:

Think political cartooning in South Africa and the first thought that will probably come to mind is Zapiro [...] Zapiro has become a household name, with a reputation for fearless and incisive cartoons [...] His empathetic but generally uncompromising treatment of current events, clearly sees his cartooning as a continuation of his activism, as it provides him with a means of holding those in power to account. (47-48)

His cartoons have been published in all the major newspapers in the country, including the *Sunday Times*, the *Cape Times*, the *Star*, the *Mercury*, the *Mail and Guardian* as well as the *Sowetan*, only to be additionally compiled and “published in anthologies every year since 1996” (Duncan 47). He is also the only cartoonist to win the prestigious CNN African Journalist of the Year award. Few are the fridges or notice boards around the country that do not have a clipping of a Zapiro cartoon attached.

Cartooning and its widespread, popular reception helps keep the present administration in check, and it can be argued that “it in its various forms it plays an important role in crystallising issues of allegiance and identity, introducing revolutionary concepts into public discourse, undermining the ideological hegemony of the state and valorising the political struggle” (Willems 127). To this end, Zapiro has been at the forefront of this ideological battle throughout, taking the pulse on the South African political climate and “capturing the elements of the nation’s *Zeitgeist*” (Hammet, “Zapiro and Zuma” 89).



It is interesting to trace the changes in the work of Zapiro. His cartoons naturally convey his political viewpoints, but also his change in his own position over time from that of the involved activist, to the more classical role of the cartoonist, as the distanced observer. Especially in his largely positive and celebratory cartoons of Nelson Mandela, we recognise the difficulty of remaining at a critical distance and “reclaiming the cartoonist’s prerogative to occupy the moral high ground” (Hammet, “Zapiro and Zuma” 89). To Zapiro, Mandela remained the moral compass of the liberation movement and subsequent government, and was therefore largely beyond reproach. He took quite another view of his successor, Thabo Mbeki, whose economic policies touted as being pro-poor, was nothing of the sort and whose tragically dissident views on HIV/Aids, and continued support of the blinkered Minister of Health, Manto Tshabalala Msimang<sup>51</sup> were utterly regrettable.

As the heady days of Mandela’s optimistic start to a democracy in South Africa waned, so did Zapiro’s patriotism. Focussing less on the quirkier and funny sides of the multicultural land that is South Africa, he began zooming in mainly on issues of corruption and what he saw as a “hypocritical” (Zapiro, interview, 2009) government. The fact that the state broadcaster over these years became less inclined to take a critical stance, may have been another catalyst in the motivation of Zapiro becoming a watchdog of the media in matters of politics.

It is, however, the many scathing cartoons covering the excesses of the now residing president Jacob Zuma (in the space of the last decade), that has seen Zapiro ‘rise’ from being famous to becoming infamous. Ironically, Zapiro initially saw Zuma as a worthy alternative to the corrupt Mbeki, but with the advent of the Schabir Shaik corruption trial, the rape trial and the information of foul play in the arms deal, this impression waned. In the words of Koelble and Robins, Zapiro gradually started to “exhibit a bias toward a progressive, Left-liberal conception of what political life ought to be, that sits uncomfortable with the increasingly Africanist tonality pulsating through the veins of South African politics” (315).

Zapiro’s comments on Jacob Zuma are many and varied. They range from the mildly patronising, to the out and out funny, to the very serious ones evoking a deep-seated abhorrence and loathing on the part of the cartoonist. Certainly the cartoons discussed in this paper, the “Rape of justice” cartoons, are but a drop in the oceans of highly critical pieces,

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<sup>51</sup> Please find this cartoon in the appendix to view Zapiro’s hilariously tragic take on the crisis of anti-retroviral drugs in South at the turn of the century.

but nevertheless are the ones that still to this day stand out as defining his work. They do so not only in their capture of moment of South African history, but also because of the passionate responses from so many camps they produced. Conflating as they do a number of issues relating to Zuma, they offer a scathing attack. Here we have all that opponents of Zuma take issue with worked into one frame: sex scandals, corruption, nepotism, usurpation of political power to illegally influence the judiciary and cronyism. The Rape of Justice cartoons had an immense impact, not just because of the timing of their publication and the uncompromising even shocking quality of the image, but certainly also for reasons of political context. Misa explains:

The implication was clear; justice was being raped by the campaign that the ANC and its allies were waging against the courts, which were trying Zuma on various corruption and racketeering charges. Published in the *Sunday Times* in September 2008, the cartoons caused a furore as it catalysed a debate on how far cartooning can go before it gets defamatory. Zapiro faced a firestorm, even from supporters like political analysts Sipho Sepe and Xolela Mangcu who felt he had drawn too far. The ANC threatened to sue and the already fiery atmosphere blazed. The following Friday, Zapiro drew again in the *Mail & Guardian*. He drew a twin image and this time a word bubble from Zuma said: “With respect...” The implication was clear again: all week, the ANC had protested that it respected the judiciary and the outcomes of the judgements. On the same day that the second cartoon was published, the High Court judge Chris Nicholson threw out the charges against Zuma and claimed that he had been subjected to a political conspiracy. The ANC was ecstatic and outside the court, deputy president of the ANC Baleka Mbete attacked Zapiro and accused him of racism. The incident has hardened the cartoonist laureate whose work is often dark with anger now; it is a far cry from the role he played as court jester to a ruling party he has always supported. (81)

In short, the image has the metaphorical figure of the Lady of Justice pinned to the floor by a group of Zuma’s comrades, whilst the by now iconic caricature by Zapiro of Zuma is getting ready to undress and commit a most heinous crime. In the initial publication of the “rape” cartoon in the *Sunday Times* in September 2008, the intention is clear for all to see, Zuma and his cohorts are both utterly disrespectful and undermining of the nation’s judicial system, strong-arming their will with no care, indeed enjoying themselves in the process. The literal

image depicting them as a gang of rapists is obviously what hit the hardest, but there are many references here to reinforce the idea of Zuma et al. as criminals.

The dripping showerhead attached to the top of Zuma's head is a reference, at this point standard and customary in all Zapiro's depictions of Zuma, to his rape trial, where although acquitted, Zuma told the court that he had taken a shower so as to be protected from contracting HIV/Aids (a disease he knew the woman to have). Having been, at the time, the head of a government initiative to promote monogamy in relationships and promote safe sex, Zuma, father of 20+ children and husband of five women, was shown as having very little understanding of the issues involving Africa's most dreaded disease<sup>52</sup>. Zuma had seriously blundered, and as opposed to Judge Van der Merwe that ended the court case by stating that on Zuma's evidence "he would not even comment" (as quoted in Gordiner 163), Zapiro never lets up.

Furthermore, one must understand that South Africa sadly is the number one country in the world for reported cases of rape<sup>53</sup>. It is an endemic problem, and here (in the cartoon) the link is made to Zuma and comrades as the quintessential black male sexual predators so feared in the country. This greed of 'wanting' what is not yours, naturally in turn is a reference to the various corruption charges, as well as derogatory comments relating to gender issues, continually sticking to Zuma. Furthermore, this element of criminality is exacerbated by the complicity of his comrades<sup>54</sup>. However, as previously pointed out, cartoons are not easily interpreted, and very rarely exclusive in their semiotic deciphering, as Hammet writes:

Producing meaning from a cartoon involves the conceptualisation and construction of the image by the cartoonist and the viewer's decoding and processing of the image and the multiple meanings, languages and semiotics contained therein. The producer and consumer are intimately involved in this process. ("Narrating the contested sphere" 207)

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<sup>52</sup> Compounding matters was the fact that at that time Zuma headed the National AIDS Council, which signified that he represented an organisation tasked with addressing the spread of a pandemic that was responsible for the death of hundreds of thousands of South Africans. More than 5 million of South Africa's population of approximately 50 million is infected with the HIV virus (Verster 64).

<sup>53</sup> Sadly South Africa was recently the recipient of the terrible nickname of Rape Capital of the World. A research stated that: "A 2009 Medical Research Council study found that one in four South African men admitted to raping a woman" (<http://www.unisa.ac.za/news/index.php/2013/02/south-africa-the-worlds-rape-capital/> 1).

<sup>54</sup> The three "rape of Justice" cartoons will be further analysed in a later section of this paper.

It therefore seems prudent to closely examine the various audience responses, acknowledging their role not just as recipients, but also as active agents of construction of meaning.

Coming in the middle of Zuma's campaign for the ANC's presidential post, de facto meaning that of the president of the country, the response to the 'Rape of Justice' cartoons was immense. The fact that Zapiro's cartoon seemed entirely par for the editorial course of his newspaper and had the support of his editors Haffajee and Mankhanya, was largely overlooked. Zapiro had for many crossed the line, and was singled out<sup>55</sup>.

The following tries to distinguish the most pertinent reactions, dividing them into three main discourses. As with the reactions to the Danish Muhammad cartoons, the response ultimately falls into one of three discourses. I have chosen to call these 1) "the legal discourse" entailing discussions relating to the relevance and fairness and indeed lawfulness of the cartoons; 2) "the insult discourse" which entails the line taken by Zuma supporters claiming defamation of dignity and character; and finally 3); "the freedom of expression discourse" which focusses on an artist/journalists right to express an opinion.

If we begin our foray into these different, but ultimately interlocked, discourses by looking at the legal ramifications, it is interesting to note that an official lawsuit indeed was brought to court. The complainant: Mr Zuma.

Zuma's initial reaction was "to accuse Zapiro and his editors of insulting him and doing the "dirty work" of others with hidden agendas" ("Media insulted me", 2006: 1). However, three months after the first publication of the series of three "Rape of Justice" cartoons, Zuma filed an action for defamation against Zapiro. In short he claimed that the drawing did not amount to fair comment under section 16 of the Constitution and asked for damages to the tune of R4 million to his reputation and a further R1 million for injury to his dignity. The whopping R 5 million claim was seen by many seen as an extraordinary sum, set to deter and intimidate any other critical voices in the media. Indeed, in the words of Glenda Daniels: "it appeared that the ANC wanted the media to ultimately report to parliament, where (naturally) the majority of the members are ANC" (Preface X). This trend was nothing new under the stewardship of the ANC government. Poor relations with the media, and the need and wish to control this mouthpiece so vital to a democracy, had been an ongoing mission even since the honeymoon

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<sup>55</sup> Another artist to be singled out and sued by Jacob Zuma was Brett Murray. His highly controversial depiction of South Africa's leader striking a pose a 'la Lenin' (but with his penis showing) led to an equal amount of furore as Zapiro's drawings. "The Spear", as it was called, also lead to Njabulo Ndebele writing a marvellous article about Zuma's reign entitled "The Emperor is Naked". Please find "The Spear" in the appendix.

period of Mandela's optimistic governance. Neatly summed up by journalist and political commentator, Justice Malala, the relation between the media and the government had always been strained:

Those who dared utter anything contrary were hounded and ridiculed. Many were regarded as enemies of the state. The voice of South Africa died. Those who spoke out against our crazy approach to AIDS were victimised. And then there was Zimbabwe. For years we aided, abetted and defended a dictator. Not once did South Africa condemn the brutality and madness of Mugabe. (*The Times*: 3 August 2009)

Zapiro from the onset welcomed the charges against him, relishing finally taking his "victim" to court. In a typical comment on the matter he showed remarkable calm and noted that:

People do not generally sue cartoonists. It's a pretty dead-end thing to do. And it's a silly ploy to pursue. It brings all the arguments back into the public spotlight and even adds more fuel to the fire for cartoonists to feed off (Qtd. in Lamond 35).

He furthermore, of his own volition, submitted the cartoons for inspection to the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC). Including his cartoons, he also enclosed a letter in defence of his work. It strangely took the cartoonist eight attempts to get a response from the Commission, before they filed a ruling. Published in the *Mail & Guardian* newspaper a full year and a half after Zapiro's initial submission, the ruling states that:

(While the cartoons were) probably offensive and distasteful, (they expressed a degree of) free, open, robust and even unrestrained criticism of a politician by a journalist (that worked to further) a valuable political debate. (*Mail & Guardian*: 25 June -1. July 2010)

In the end, after four years of delays, Zuma was advised to drop the charges. He eventually agreed to pay Zapiro's expenses related to the pending court case. Zuma's rather odd comment - that since he in the intervening period had become ANC president, the cartoons had not in fact affected his reputation - demonstrated his rather disjointed, spurious reasoning<sup>56</sup>.

Interestingly, in his thesis focusing solely on the legal ramifications of the Zapiro/Zuma cartoon, Verster concludes that:

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<sup>56</sup> Please find Zapiro's response to Zuma's decision to drop the lawsuit in the appendix.

According to experts in constitutional law, it seems improbable that Zuma would have won the defamation case against Zapiro, as the Constitutional Court has developed the common law of defamation to bring it in line with the spirit and purport of the Bill of Rights. In practise this means that a public figure like Zuma will not find it easy to win a defamation case. In a case against Zapiro certain matters, such as the utterances Zuma and his supporters had made against women, gay men, judges and HIV/Aids, may be discussed again. This will certainly be to Zuma's detriment. (150)

This risk of further 'detriments' to his reputation (it is thought that the case might have gone all the way to the Constitutional Court, which would have generated a massive amount of media exposure), largely also seems to be the reason behind Zuma eventually dropping the charges. As Daniels drily notes: "through this lawsuit, Zuma succeeded in reminding the public of an aspect of his past that he himself would probably rather forget" ("Dignity vs. Freedom of expression" 2). A decision therefore to drop the charges was praised by both lawyer Dario Milo: "it is appropriate to recognise that a great deal of breathing space needs to be afforded to their (editorial cartoons) output" (2) and Verster:

As head of state Jacob Zuma can claim that Zapiro not only disrespected him as an individual, but has also shown disrespect to the position of state president. The Constitution protects Zuma's rights as much as it guarantees Zapiro's right to freedom of expression. Therefore Zuma was within his rights to sue Zapiro for damages to his name. However, Zuma by right of his position of state president has a responsibility to set an example regarding ethical behaviour. This aspect outweighs his individual rights, as his actions are in the public interest. Consequently it is expected of Zapiro and any other journalist to expose unacceptable behaviour on the part of people in leadership positions. When the president of the country makes statements that is interpreted as threatening to the freedom and general well-being of the state, a journalist would be forsaking his or her duty when not drawing attention to such a situation. As a cartoonist operating in a democratic society, Zapiro is privileged to criticise anyone within the parameters of what is seen as acceptable satire. Zapiro's cartoons may have bordered on defamation and bad taste, but [...] Zuma's conduct in both his personal life and the political sphere has evoked criticism (from many commentators). Therefore, this researcher is convinced that Zapiro's belief that Zuma brought this criticism on himself, is justified. (154)

Certainly, it is noteworthy that clause 16 of the South African Constitution on freedom of expression, does not draw a clear cut line along which to judge where hate speech ends and criticism begins, it merely specifies that freedom of expression is protected as long as it does not directly promote hatred or incite violence. To this end, we must conclude that Zuma's conduct regarding the legal ramification of the case in the end hurt his reputation to a much larger degree than did the effect of Zapiro's cartoons. Indeed, the rhetoric coming out of the 'yes men' that Zuma had surrounded himself with, came to tarnish his and the ANC's reputation a lot more. What remains is to examine the rhetoric that took place outside of the legal arena.

As with the Muhammad cartoons, the category of response we can refer to as the insult discourse, in South Africa also primarily focused on issues of loss of dignity, reputation and the sheer hurtfulness of what they saw as a vicious attack on a revered leader<sup>57</sup>. Again the indignation in their responses was not only dedicated to issues of morality, but to a large extent hinged on claiming a control over the narrative of events. Zapiro, like Westergaard and his fellow cartoonists in Denmark, was the butt of a hegemonic, ideological interpellation orchestrated by tribal, authoritarian forces. Largely labelling the cartoons anti-transformation, and in turn therefore, anti-democratic, the ANC once again positioned the media as "outsiders to democracy" (Daniels 5). This continued unwillingness to allow the media, or anyone else for that matter, a voice of criticism seems to have identical roots to that of the Islamic movement against the Muhammad cartoons. Daniels points out that because "the ANC was forced into a negotiated settlement, and therefore forced into a constitutional democracy" (121), this means that they (like some members of the religion of Islam in Denmark) found themselves with one foot in a modern constitutional democracy and another in a principally patriarchal, traditional and authoritarian past. With this precarious position in mind, applying a lens if you will of a more traditional, even at times religious, outlook, we may begin to analyse the reactions from Zuma and his allies.

Zuma himself claimed that his, and others', human rights were being trampled on by the media. A media he saw as overstepping the boundaries of privacy, whilst pointing to the fact that as opposed to the members of the ANC, the media was "not democratically elected" (*The*

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<sup>57</sup> The dignity clause of the South African constitution states that everyone has inherent dignity and the right to have it respected and protected. (As quoted in Daniels "Dignity vs. Freedom of Expression" 2)



*Times*: 12 August 2010). His up and coming lieutenant Julius Malema, later to be expelled from the party for the veracity of his comments, joined this line of thinking, noting:

It is important that we need to fight this media which is ruling itself, the media which is a law unto itself. These people can destroy the revolution. They think they are untouchable and they can write about anything they like [...] that time has come to an end [...] these people are dangerous. (*Sunday Times*: 8 August 2010)

For them the media was clearly not entitled to have their say, especially if what they say was in opposition to the ideology laid out by the ANC.

Even more disturbing were the calculated comments made by ANC spokesperson Jessie Duarte and journalist (and staunch ANC supporter) Xolela Mangcu. Duarte, for her part, conjured up the image of Zapiro as part of a right-wing conspiracy against the government, stating that:

I don't think he is a small fish in a big pond. I think he is a cog in the wheel of right-wing elementary journalism that look at people from a very one-sided viewpoint and doesn't allow for the opposite views to come through. I think Jonathan Shapiro should be taken to court where a court can hear his side of the story and Mr. Zuma's side, and where it can be decided whether he should punitively pay for his *race and class bias*. (*Mail & Guardian*: 27 May 2010) (My emphasis)

Duarte here sees conspiracies everywhere. Not only is her assumption that an editorial cartoonist must be held accountable to the same rules and regulations as "proper" journalists erroneous, but furthermore is her judgement of his apparently intrinsic "bias", and suggestion of a punishment for this, indisputably, and ironically, prejudiced.

This same rhetoric of creating the interpellation of Zapiro as a racist bigot is expressed in an otherwise sensible editorial by Mangcu, who noted:

And so I urge my white colleagues to take this as a report from the colonies – the 'natives' are restless. They are unhappy at the manner in which their 'masters' depict them. In exercising our freedoms, we also need to show greater sensitivity to the dignity of other people, even those we dislike. That is the essence of our constitutional democracy and its human rights culture. If we as journalists violate that basic principle, then why should anyone respect it? (*The Weekender*: 13-14 September 2008)



As was the case with the Muhammad cartoons, the spin doctors on behalf of the government, and ANC in particular, were working overtime deflecting the issue away from a discussion of the actual content of the cartoons. The issues raised in the cartoons: the lack of respect for the judicial body, the ignorance and amorality in Zuma's dealings with members of the opposite sex, the outright cronyism and nepotism devastating the South Africa economy and governance (especially when it came to service delivery to the poorest) were beyond the accountability of a democracy. The realities of 'new' South Africa were simply ignored – the focus was squarely put on the indecency of the portrayal. The depiction of an icon, although clearly in the form of a metaphorical character, and the defilement of Zuma's reputation, became the only key point of emphasis. Disregarding the recent events, which arguably were the ones addressed by the cartoonist, the insult discourse instead reversed to playing the 'race card', maintaining that this was just another example of a colonialist, racist endeavour upsetting the new status quo of the country<sup>58</sup>. Few were the comments that dealt with the actual content. Zapiro's old friend from the struggle days and usually a supporter of his work, Zwelinzima Vavi, was pictured as one the perpetrators in the initial version of the Rape of Justice cartoon, helping to pin Lady Justice to the ground. Interestingly Vavi, expressed a much more personal, and therefore more valid response. Cosatu's secretary general (at the time) declared himself:

Shocked, devastated and lost for words. Zapiro has equated us to rapists. There is no basis for this cartoon. What is he saying to the world? Is he saying Zuma is a racist? This cartoon goes beyond acceptable levels of freedom of expression. (*The Times*: 9 September 2008)

Clearly viewing the cartoons in a straightforward literal sense, Vavi's semiotic reading responds to the cartoon itself and does not place it in another deliberately interpolated context. Especially within the South African context of being the 'rape capital' of the world, it is understandable to want to distance oneself from this dirge. And yes, on a literal level, we must acknowledge that the image of a gang rape, or at least an 'assisted rape', is indescribably offensive. We understand that Vavi wants nothing to do with this narrative, but Zapiro's clear cartoon technique here, the obvious play on rape as a metaphor, is not an

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<sup>58</sup>This default line of discourse is tremendously hurtful and unconstructive. It is simply too easy to take on the role of the (historical) victim of racist oppression in South Africa. In turn, we must follow Said's suggestion and try to "transcend the racial and national core of our discourse, [by] discovering a world not constructed out of such warring essence" (*Culture and Imperialism* 277).

uncommon one. Indeed it amounts to a fairly common aphorism. Certainly this metaphor is one used quite frequently by cartoonists.

In contradistinction to the discourse of insult, we find the defence of Zapiro's cartoon resort to the discourse of the freedom of expression. As opposed to the Muhammad cartoons, the Rape of Justice series was not directly co-ordinated and supported by editorials written by the newspapers editors. That is not to say that both Mondli Makhanya and Ferial Haffajee did not stand by their cartoonist, as they both subsequently posted statements in his defence. Importantly, however, Haffajee did subsequently withdraw the cartoons from the online website, after acknowledging their divisive character<sup>59</sup>.

Zapiro himself, in his letter (as mentioned earlier submitted on his own accord to the SAHRC) kept his professional distance from the interpellation as projected by the ANC by stating that:

The meaning of the cartoon is quite obviously metaphorical, not literal. That it is a metaphor is obvious because the central figure in the drawing is clearly not a real person, but rather the well-known symbolic figure, 'Lady Justice'. Personifying abstract aspects of society (Justice, Democracy, War, Liberty etc.) is a tradition that began many centuries ago and is widely used in newspaper cartoons. The Lady Justice personification has been around for over 2000 years since Roman times and is arguably the most famous of these allegorical figures. She is instantly recognisable (and) it then follows that the cartoon itself can only be symbolic or metaphorical.  
(Shapiro Letter to the SAHRC)

Maintaining throughout this passage, and the letter as a whole for that matter, a level-headed and critical stance, Zapiro refuses to be dragged into a racially charged debate. This is, in his view, about cartooning. He endeavours to place the cartoons into their rightful context, to explain not only his intentions, but also the conventions of his work. By negating the interpellation and instead concentrating on the composition of his drawing, he insists on taking the high road, thereby maintaining the moral high ground that is the preferred position of observation of the cartoonist.

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<sup>59</sup> Interestingly, Makhanya has since fired *The Sunday Times* journalist David Bullard, after Bullard wrote what overstepped his mark in his weekly column Out to Lunch. In the piece Bullard alluded to "the cluelessness of the native African" (18). Makhanya justified the dismissal by stating that: "We are NOT in the business of promoting prejudice" (Qtd. in Daniels 89).

With regards to the court case and the rather exorbitant amount sought in damages by Zuma, the proponents of the freedom of expression discourse dismissed it as tantamount to thuggery and political bullying. Both of course, ironically, perfectly in line with what was implied in the cartoons in the first place. Here, as was the case in Denmark, the ‘victims’ displayed exactly the kind of behaviour they were charged with originally.

The voices in support of Zapiro came from all quarters, all classes and all races. A largely united media naturally stated the need to be critical in the process of building a democracy, and in upholding what had been achieved, and that the media should be seen as a necessary and legitimate adversary, not an enemy. Refusing the roles outlined by the ANC as either a mouthpiece in support of the government, or an outsider to the democracy, they maintained the need for a watchdog, an instance demanding transparency of government and its public officials, and working to expose anything to the contrary. Often quoted was the idea of a radical democracy as conceptualised by Chantal Mouffe. In her interpretation, the inability or unwillingness by the ANC to allow the media an active and decisive role, even if critical, is entirely erroneous. She posits that:

Democratic debate is not a deliberation aimed at reaching the one rational solution to be accepted, but a confrontation among adversaries. [...] The adversary is, in a sense an enemy, but a legitimate enemy with whom there exists common ground.

Adversaries fight each other, but they do not put into question the legitimacy of their respective positions. (4)

The key point made here is that for a democracy to function, the parts involved must understand the constant tension needed, a tension natural between an elected government, their constituency and the channels of communication between these parts. No doubt there are many pitfalls in this interconnected relation, many ways of manipulating and manufacturing this connection, but first and foremost we must acknowledge that this liaison needs to exist. The attempts at subjugating the media by the ANC, of which the court case and character assassination of Zapiro is a clear example, is expressive of an extremely antagonistic stance, ultimately hurtful to the achievement of a truly democratic South Africa. If the ANC believes a static, ‘perfect’ democracy can be achieved through the oppression and suppression of dissenting voices, they are mistaken; it is “precisely through its resistance to realisation” (Daniels 2) that we can maintain something akin to a ‘healthy’ and open democracy. To this extent, in the words of Zapiro’s editor Makhanya, the media should seek

not to be “ideologically in tandem” (*Sunday Times*: 12 August 2008) with the ruling party. Indeed building on this sentiment, the same thought is expressed in the words of former politician, Mamphela Ramphele, when she acknowledged that:

Gratitude for liberation should not be unending gratitude to the leading movement in that process. It is very human to be caught in the seductive embrace of one’s liberators, but it is irresponsible and shirking one’s duty to continue to entrust the future of one’s society solely to a party or parties associated with the liberation struggle. (*House of Freedom* 12)

This critical stance towards the ANC’s line was certainly the argument made by many of the people shocked by the racist interpellation of Zapiro by the ANC. In the defence of freedom of expression, this anti-colonial narrative was vigorously rejected, whilst pointing to the fact that the ANC no longer could afford to live off its past, that despite their credentials as a noble liberation they now very much had taken power. The reality that they, as a political majority party, struggled because of poor management, as depicted in the cartoon, was repeatedly addressed. Undoubtedly the veracity of the reaction to the cartoons stemmed from a subconscious embarrassment at the widespread corruption, on all levels, within the organisation of the party.

The poignancy of the cartoons, displaying the outrage of their author, were seen to be in keeping with, and therefore a valid response to, the atrocious state of Zuma’s ANC. Zapiro, when asked whether he regretted the tenacity of the cartoons, once again raised his essential duty, as he saw it, as “a watchdog, not a lapdog”. In his opinion the cartoons were well within his rights as a political pundit:

Gone too far? That has been said to me and to cartoonists all over the world for a long, long time. We are commentators. Yes, the cartoons are over the top – that does not mean I would not do it again. Cartoons work by putting together things that are unexpected, occasionally shocking, joining dots that did not look like they could be joined and making an image that looks like they were there all the time. (*Sunday Independent*: 14 September 2008)

This again illustrates Zapiro justifying his cartoons by explaining the intricacies of his trade. Here, by defining the humour arising from the use of incongruity, he once again sustains the focus on the drawing, deflecting the implications of his personal impetus and incentive that the Zuma supporters wish to make the emphasis of the controversy. Clearly Zapiro’s

motivation had been to deepen democracy, to vent his anger through his oeuvre, and to many the cartoons had hit the nail on the head.

He was backed widely in this disregard, indeed especially, by the *Mail & Guardian's* own ombudsman, Frans Kruger, who noted:

What Zapiro has drawn is a common metaphor, that of the rape of justice, itself well-establish in the persona of a blind-folded woman carrying scales [...] it seems to me that the Zapiro cartoons has offended against sensitivities that are mainly political – as Malema says they are disrespectful of some political leaders. I don't think that newspapers have to be as careful about these kinds of sensitivities<sup>60</sup>. (12)

What remains then is, like Daniels puts it, “should leaders accept that democracy has a sense of humour, that the free flow of information enhances life, or should everyone's dignity be sacrosanct? (“Dignity vs. Freedom of expression” 2) As could be expected, the media of South Africa were with Zapiro all the way, and to this effect awarded him with the graphical journalism category of the Mondi Shanduka Newspaper Awards for the cartoons. In their justification they remarked that:

The judges did not necessarily endorse the sentiments of the controversial Rape of Justice cartoon, but acknowledged it is an outstandingly powerful visual statement that had been deliberately designed to elicit enormous reaction. (Gardner 1)

With this in mind let us now take a closer look at the intricacies of the genre of editorial cartooning, its historical origins and its use of satire and humour in general. A full understanding of these two defining moments in cartooning, necessarily begins a thorough analysis of the drawing in question.

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<sup>60</sup> As a caveat it is interesting to note that concept of having an Ombudsman is an originally Danish ‘invention’. Basically this person is an “official appointed to investigate individuals' complaints against a company or organization, especially a public authority”. (<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/ombudsman>)

## **Chapter 4**

### **Cartoons and Satire**

Satirists should use whatever means at their disposal to lord over the public trust and hold accountable those with power and influence who are abusing their privileges.

Chris Lamb (61)

Laughter is a fundamentally social phenomenon; it seeks out others in order to discover who is with us in the world.

Henrik Bergson (13)

This chapter is divided into two main parts. The first is an attempt at an analysis of the two sets of cartoons. The second part looks at the tenets of editorial cartooning and the intricacies of humour as its most potent tool to achieve attention. It illustrates and discusses the aspects of satire and especially the many facets (and faces) of humour within the genre of cartooning. It is also concerned with the problematic complexity of the cartoon culture so rooted in a liberal Western democracy (illustrated by both sets of cartoons) in their meeting with a much more traditionalistic and tribal understanding of politics and religion. This chapter therefore insists that it is pertinent not only to thoroughly analyse the drawings, but to properly contextualise the initial publication and trace the following events in order to allow an in-depth understanding and appreciation of the cartoons in question.

Jokes and humour are on occasion dismissed as insignificant and trivial, something often not worthy of serious academic attention. However, more recently, with the advent of cultural studies cartooning and other graphic media have become the subject of academic study. As Moira Smith, author of *Humour, Unlaughter and Boundary Maintenance* writes, cartoons were shown to be at the very core of a new fault line splitting the world in, at least, two camps:

In the resulting international debate, the key issues were often understood to be a face-off between competing rights: on one hand, freedom of expression; on the other, the expectation of tolerance and respect for religious sensibilities. Both positions were elevated to dizzying heights of importance by being placed in a context of a confrontation between the secular West and the Muslim East. Once the protests began, the cartoons' status was irrevocably changed from a public humour performance into a high-stakes game of a "clash of civilizations". Thereafter, the images meant something quite different from what they had at first. Depending on which side the observer was on, they signified either freedom of speech, secular humanism, and the virtues of Western democracy, or blasphemy, Islamophobia, religious and ethnic intolerance, insensitivity, and the evils of Western democracy and secularism. High stakes, indeed. (149)

Humour and global geopolitics are not oxymoronic entities, they are as both Smith argues and this paper hopefully shows, interlinked. The two sets of cartoons make this point rather emphatically, becoming catalysts in the increasingly binary opposition surrounding the disputes between Huntington's "West" and Said's "Rest". I will now turn the attention to the analysis of how these poles came to be united.

### **Analysis of the cartoons**

There can be no doubt that the advent of the internet means that we increasingly live in an age where, as Oliver Hahn argues, pictures travel and discourse does not. In his article on the Muhammad cartoons, Hahn writes:

The "staged" farce of the caricatures controversy, and its partly violent aftermath, reported and commented upon by different global media, is a textbook example of both the international mobility of pictures and the immobility of their accompanying discourses. Often this total abstraction from contexts is due to great geopolitical, geo-cultural, geo-religious, and geo-linguistic distance between different global media. (191)

It is this contextualisation that this paper aims to provide, in order to further the understanding of how these cartoons came to play such an important role in the divide between the west and their Other.

Ironically, however, the reverse is also the case in the instance of the Muhammad cartoons. It is not just the original context that has been lost in translation, but, importantly, also the cartoons themselves. As I have already argued, they are by many deemed too explosive to publish and so a massive part of the world's population, especially of those offended by them, have never actually seen them. At least not in their original format and framing. This is problematic for a number of reasons. Primarily, it is my argument that, when viewed as concrete artefacts within the confines of their original context, these cartoons are much less likely to offend. As Karin Becker states, it is "how the image works as an idea" in our mind and the fact we have "the knowledge that it exists" (118) that somehow has elevated these twelve drawings into something much more explosive than need be. The Muhammad cartoons have to this extent been overlooked as concrete, and time and context-bound artefacts, and instead only been debated as abstract constructs held hostage by the various stakeholders eager to impose their own set of agendas in the aftermath of their fame. Importantly, we can just as easily label those who are offended without having seen the cartoons as hypocrites, as we can those other fundamentalists (the neo-liberals), using them as abstracts to expand on the Western hegemonic narrative of the uncivilized Muslim.

If for no other reason than to keep the chronology intact, I will begin by looking at the cartoons published on the 30th of September 2005 by *Jyllands Posten*. The context leading up to the publication and the intentions by the editors and the participating editorial cartoonists have already been established elsewhere, so I will proceed by doing a close analysis of the cartoons individually, carefully examining their impact on the three levels of text, context and reception.

In order to do this I will take a cultural studies approach in my analysis, as this is the most appropriate way to deal with the full meaning of political cartoons. This method focuses on a three-pronged approach: firstly, analysis of the socio-political and economic conditions underlying the production of the cartoon; secondly, textual analysis; and thirdly, analysis of the cartoon's reception by the public.



If we look at the newspaper page as a whole<sup>61</sup>, we are naturally drawn to the caption ‘Muhammeds ansigt’ (The face of Muhammad). This title both frames the exercise given to the cartoonists by the editors, Flemming Rose and Carsten Juste, and informs the reader/viewer of the point that they wish to make. This framing in which the clear intention to depict the prophet is laid out, is simultaneously the single most offending factor. As already discussed, the depiction of the prophet, in any shape or form, is a highly contentious point in the Muslim religion.

In Danish this particular word for face (ansigt) is often used in conjunction with the adjective ‘sande’, meaning ‘true’. “At vise sit sande ansigt”, then, is a sentence and a saying often used when imploring someone to finally be honest about who they are; to stop pretending, as it were. The implication here is that *Jyllands Posten* by publishing these cartoons, finally will show their readers what and who Muhammad is. No more pretences, this is Muhammad stripped bare, showing his real self, albeit through the eyes of Danish illustrators. *Jyllands Posten*’s editors are hereby saying that these drawings are representative of public opinion of Islam and Muhammad in Denmark.

Below the caption is a three columned editorial by Rose that further elaborates on this point whilst claiming that the Danish practice of ridicule and mockery is something the Islamic community must come to terms with if wanting to coexist and belong within the monarchy.

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<sup>61</sup> Please find a full size copy of the original newspaper layout in the appendix.



© 2005 Jyllands Posten. Figure 1: “Muhammeds Ansigt”.

As mentioned previously it is crucial to observe that the twelve contributions certainly are not expressing a homogenous understanding or idea of who or what Muhammed is or what he represents. They differ not only in style but also in content and intent.

If we begin at the top we immediately spot Kurt Westergaard’s by now infamous contribution. What is drawn here is the face of a bearded man, in whose black turban lies a rounded bomb. The bomb’s burning fuse is short and seem about to go off. In the centre of the bomb is an inscription which for most Danes denote little more than a piece of Arabic/Islamic text, but to Muslims immediately will be recognised as the Shahada<sup>62</sup>, their religious creed. The face is fairly naturalistic in style, with heavysset dark eyes, bushy eyebrows and an oddly absent-minded expression. The turban is obviously a very iconic sign of Islamic culture and religion. Whereas the face is rendered in a very straightforward, naturalistic style, the bomb is of the kind you would find in a comic book. Bearing little resemblance to the look of modern day explosives, it is merely iconographic and

<sup>62</sup> The Shahada is considered the most cherished creed of Islam. It translates as: “There is no god except Allah and Mohammed is Allah’s messenger”. As Amin Alhassan writes in his article “The Twelve Cartoons: A Discursive Inquiry this is the first point of departure when converting to Islam”: “This is the standard declaration of faith which all new converts must recite and which must be witnessed by the Muslim community before the convert is accepted. in addition, it is the preferred last testament that a Muslim will recite before his death”.(41)

metaphorically a depiction of a bomb. The face, the Arabic text and the bomb in the turban is an example of three elements combined, in order to achieve incongruity. However, a variation of this combination has been seen before. We are reminded of the story of Aladdin, in the fairy tale about the magic lamp<sup>63</sup>. Here an orange falls into the turban belonging to Aladdin. This has since become a saying in Danish “at faa en appelsin i turbanen”, loosely meaning that you are the recipient of some unexpected good luck.

It is my interpretation that having, or receiving, a bomb in one's turban, must invoke a rather more negative fate. Perhaps, with this example of intertextuality, Westergaard wants to make the point that Muhammad is unlucky. This interpretation certainly seems valid if we assume the bomb as a metaphorical statement rather than a literal one. What this also opens up for is the discussion about whether the man depicted is to be considered the subject of the bomb (the bearer) or the object (someone onto whom the bomb has been placed involuntarily). It is within this exact metonymy that the reception of the cartoon is divided. Westergaard himself explains that he intended for the drawing to be a comment on the many fundamentalists using their interpretations of the Quran to justify terrorist attacks and other violent conduct.

Interestingly the man does not seem aggressive, but rather placid and unfazed. Certainly, we detect none of the panic you would expect if someone was aware of a detonating bomb on their head. This reasoning seems to have been neglected in most analyses, scholars and the public instead focusing on the strong link made between the Islamic signifiers (the Shahada, the beard and the turban) and that most simple signifier of violence (the bomb). The depiction of Muhammad as a man of war is, however, not new. Throughout history illustrations celebrating this side of the prophet have often shown Muhammad with sword in hand as the “self-proclaimed warlord” (Gabriel 12). Undoubtedly, these are also an inspiration to the many young men of today fighting to establish another caliphate in the Middle East and demonstrating their hatred of Western ideology through terrorist actions globally.

Next to the aforementioned cartoon by Westergaard we have a similar depiction of the face of a man wearing a turban. Here also we have the use of clearly distinctive Islamic iconography. The face of the similarly bearded man is bordered by a crescent, with one eye blocked by a star, both typically found in Islamic iconography. They are both coloured green, presumably

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<sup>63</sup> This story was originally included in the collection of Middle Eastern folk stories entitled *One thousand and One Night, or Arabian Nights*.

as this is the colour commonly associated with Islam. Another marker of the man's identity is the accentuated size of his (Semitic) nose.

On a metaphorical level the idea of 'having stars in your eyes', comes to mind. Maybe the cartoonist wishes to imply that Muslims somehow are 'blinded' by their religion, and that this obstructs their perspective of the world. Certainly, the idea that religious adherence, such as is required in Islam, is to a largely secular Danish society considered outdated and even dangerous to progressive thinking. Whether the symbolism here of the green colour is to convey the idea of "the green threat [...] arguing that they pose the major threat to Western civilization" 41) as argued by Amin Alhassan, seems unclear and somewhat tenuous, but does naturally feed into the predominant rhetoric by the neoconservative wing in Danish politics.

Moving further down the right-hand side of the page (proceeding anticlockwise) we find the caricature of the author Kaare Bluitgen. Bluitgen is by many seen as the trigger or instigator behind the publication in *Jyllands Posten*, as he reported his inability to get anyone to illustrate his children's book<sup>64</sup> on the topic of Islam to the two editors, Juste and Rose. Bluitgen claimed that illustrators were scared off at the prospect of repercussions from the Muslim community. As mentioned earlier in this paper, Bluitgen's difficulty in acquiring this help might also be put down to his rather confrontational and controversial stance towards the devotees of Islam. Here, in a classical exaggeration of his least appealing feature, we see the author holding up a stick man painting of a bearded man wearing a turban. Bluitgen is smiling; he has gotten what he wanted. Again we have the drawing of the orange in the turban, here with its original semantic message: luck is on his side. The comment made here seems to be that, to Bluitgen this publication is nothing but the climax of an elaborate publicity stunt. By commenting on the cartoons, in this cartoon the illustrator makes the subtle meta-narrative point that we here have a rather overt attempt at what Chomsky would call 'manufactured consent'. This framing naturally denigrates the point that the editors are wanting to make, but has nevertheless, and to their credit, been included. Later in his memoirs, published the following year in Denmark 2006 and again in 2010 in an English version, Rose admits as much, stating that he in hindsight felt used by Bluitgen, whose motives all along had been "just to get cheap publicity" (*Tyranny of Silence* 35).

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<sup>64</sup> Bluitgen's children book, which he had hoped would have been taught from in public schools across the country, never made it to print as no publisher's deemed it a viable or, indeed, a properly educational offering.

Below the Bluitgen caricature we have what we could call “The Scene in Heaven”. Here we see a man in a white robe, with a black coat and a turban holding out his hands in an apologetic fashion, with the attached speech bubble: “Stop stop vi er loebet toer for jomfruer!” The Danish translates into: “stop stop we’ve run out of virgins!” This is spoken to a seemingly endless line of men ascending towards the man. The men in the line are all depicted with enlarged (Semitic) noses and seem to radiate heat, as if they have been burned. Their ‘lemming-like’ walk and the inferred symbolism of the man as some sort of guardian of heaven, makes you think of the reference in The Quran to the holy warriors that die on the battlefield to receive a reward in the form of 72 virgins in their afterlife. This much quoted myth<sup>65</sup>, is often used by opponents of Islam as an illustration of the glorification of war (and terror) and at the same time as a reminder of women’s poor standing within Sharia law Islam. This cartoon conflates the idea of the stupidity of the suicide bombers (or terrorists or martyrs) of sacrificing themselves to no avail, as the rewards have run out. Ultimately, the joke is on the illustrator, Jens Julius Hansen, as the idea of St. Peter guarding the entrance to heaven is clearly a reference within a different religion (Christianity) and the myth of the virgins is wholly inaccurate. However, this mishmash of myths and religious ideas might be an ingenious “meta-narrational” comment on the Danes’ generally poor understanding of Islam.

Below the heavenly scene we encounter a man in a Middle Eastern white robe, again wearing a turban and heavily bearded. In this rendition the man is flanked by two women, both wearing a niqab. The man has drawn his sword, as if ready to attack or defend against an oncoming enemy. His eyes are blacked out, it is as if he has received the piece of cloth that would have made the covering of the women total. The women seem to be anxiously hiding behind the warrior, their eyes transfixed on the threat ahead of them. Is this a play on the saying “the blind leading the blind”? Somehow implying that the Islamic man (Muhammad) has somehow lost his vision, his sense of direction. Or are his eyes blacked out to show respect for the perception that Muhammad’s face should not be depicted. Certainly the depiction of women wearing the niqab, and their position behind the man, feeds into a continual debate, not just amongst feminists, in Danish society. The fact that women must cover themselves up to this extent remains highly contentious in not just Denmark, but most of the Western world. Whether to ban this traditional garb, as has been done in the French

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<sup>65</sup> There is contrary to popular belief no such mention in The Quran. The notion of a reward for a death as a martyr stems from “one the more obscure and poorly referenced hadiths” (Nydell 23).

public sector, is very much the topic of discussion. To critics of Islam this is often used as an argument for their repression of women. All in all the impression is that the three members of Islam are fearful; the women are in hiding and the man is ready to pounce.

Below this we have what we could call “the school scene”. A young boy, identified as Mohammed<sup>66</sup> in a text next to him, is standing in front of a blackboard. The boy is wearing a Danish football top, from the team “Fremad” (a club from the lower divisions situated on the outskirts of Copenhagen). The term “fremad” can be translated as “forward”. Here, however, instead of the word “fremad”, it says “fremtiden”, a word very similar in Danish, but which can be translated into “the future”. Judging from his facial expression the boy seems to be happy, even excited, as he uses a teacher’s pointing stick to direct the class (and the reader’s) attention to the words on the board. The words on the board are not Arabic, but rather Persian, and according to scholar Amin Alhassan they translate as: “*Jylland’s Posten* journalists are a bunch of reactionary provocateurs” (45). Clearly this statement is another, albeit subtle, meta-commentary on the task set. The cartoonist, Lars Refn, hides his criticism by writing the text in a, to Danes, foreign language. This makes for a spectacularly layered drawing because within the political rhetoric at the time, the Eurabia<sup>67</sup> theory, with its fear of Islam taking over the continent, was very topical. The cartoonist, at least at the level understood by Danes, therefore seems to suggest that the future of teaching will be done in “Arabic”.

At the foot of the page, the next drawing takes place in a decidedly Arab-looking palace. From the arching columns and ornate stonework we can conclude that we are in grand quarters indeed. Here two warriors, again complete with swords, beards and turbans are held

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<sup>66</sup> According to Wikipedia Mohammed tops the list of most popular boys name worldwide.

<sup>67</sup> The by now debunked theory of Eurabia was all the rage at the turn of the century. Primarily pushed by Israeli historian Bat Ye’or it played on the fear of an Islamization of Europe through demographic developments. Here is a taste of Bat Ye’or rhetoric from a speech given in New York in 2005:

Europe is undergoing two profound changes. The first is the weakening of Christianity. The second is demographic decline. Presently, across Europe, there are only two-thirds the number of children born necessary to sustain the population. The consequent drop in population has mostly been made good by immigration of Muslims. The fast-growing Muslim population is generally not integrated into the host societies nor politically acculturated to its norms. To the contrary, radical Islamic movements are gaining in strength among these émigré populations. In addition, European governments, especially the French, have developed foreign policies aimed at winning the favour of Middle Eastern regimes. The question arises: is this a temporary aberration or is Europe on the road to losing its historic identity? The latter: Europe is rapidly being transformed into “Eurabia,” a cultural and political appendage of the Arab/Muslim world that is fundamentally anti-Christian, anti-Semitic, anti-Western and anti-American. (1)

back in the quest for revenge. Another man, wearing a similar robe and turban, holds out his arm to stop them, as he looks at a set of papers. It is at this point that we are lead to read the caption at the bottom of the cartoon, which, translated, says: “Calm down guys, when all is said and done, it’s just a cartoon made by an infidel person from the southern part of Jutland”. The mention of this region of Denmark has two meanings; firstly it is the place of birth of the cartoonist and secondly, it is a reference to what is considered the most backward part of Denmark. It is a region of farmers, the region furthest south and closest to Germany and for years the part of the country where the Nationalist Party<sup>68</sup> garnered its grassroots support. The implication is that the cartoonist is both afraid of any repercussions, and therefore hedging his bet by this apologetic caption<sup>69</sup>, but also being highly provocative in his assumption and depiction of supporters of Muhammad being of a violent nature.

In the bottom right corner we have an image replicated many times by Zapiro<sup>70</sup>. Here we see a caricature of the cartoonist, presumably Arne Soerensen himself, hard at work, struggling over his desk and the drawing of his subject. The cartoonist is sweating profusely and slouches in his chair as he toils to come up with his contribution. The blinds are drawn and the lights are on, suggesting he is working late into the night. On his sketching pad we see the pen strokes suggesting a bearded man’s face. Whether this is to become the face of Muhammad or maybe that of paradoxically similarly bearded Kurt Westergaard we cannot tell. What does seem to be a valid interpretation is that this is the cartoonist himself commenting on the uncomfortable task he has been given. It possibly suggest that he is fearful of the dangerous situation this could land him in.

Above the stressed out cartoonist, we find the rather more relaxed nomad walking along with his donkey. Dressed all in white robes, he is wearing sandals, a turban and a beard. In his right hand is his walking stick, in the left the leash for his steer. The meaning behind this cartoon is ambivalent. Is the cartoonist merely depicting Muhammad as he would have looked at the time of the “invention” of the Quran (a peaceful man of the people)? Or is he implying that Muhammad is a rather simple character, intellectually only fit for goat herding?

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<sup>68</sup> The right-wing Nationalist Party in Demark (Dansk Folkeparti) has one agenda only: Foreigners must conform (assimilate rather than integrate) or leave.

<sup>69</sup> People from this part of the country are, as it is seen with people from certain cities, towns or regions in many countries around the world, considered the “prugelknabe”, or the butt, of the jokes.

<sup>70</sup> Please find some examples of Zapiro’s responses to the Muhammad crisis in the appendix.



In the centre, to the right of the editorial written by Rose, we have the image of five Islamic head dresses, the hijabs. Traditionally worn by women after the age of puberty, this is another much contested part of the Muslim female wardrobe in Europe. Here the artistic use of the crescent denominates the context of Islam, but strangely we here also find the Star of David, a predominantly Jewish sign. By itself this drawing of the five hijabs has little semantic value, but it is in the text on the left hand side of the drawing that we are able to decode the intention. Translated, the text reads: “Prophet, daft and dumb, keeping women, under thumb”. This then ties in nicely with the perception in Denmark that Islam, as illustrated in the wardrobe of its women, is a religion highly suppressive of its female members.

In the top right hand corner we again find the drawing of a man wearing iconic loose-fitting robes so typically of the Middle East. The male is wearing open sandals, has a full beard and a turban. His arms are folded in what is a typical pose of prayer. Sticking out from either sides of his turban is, however, a set of horns. As we normally associate horns with the manifestation of the devil, the implication seems to be that rather than the halo he is often depicted with, Muhammad is a representative of ‘the dark side’. According to Alhassan you could further argue that: “the loose garments with the wild growth of the beard add up to the semblance of a lunatic in a mental hospital [...] the consequent message is something like the following: a Muslim and a moron at prayer may simultaneously be a devil incarnate” (43).

Finally in the centre of the page, directly underneath the caption of the page, we see what we can call the line-up. This intricate drawing has the reader, looking over the shoulder of a man (presumably a victim of sorts) at an identification line-up as used by the police. Underneath the numbers one through seven, we see (from the left) a hippie, Pia Kjaersgaard (leader of the nationalistic Danish People’s Party), Three Middle Eastern looking men, an oriental looking man (Buddha?) and to the far right, the author, Kaare Bluitgen. It has been suggested by Jytte Klausen that the three Middle Eastern looking men represent “Jesus, Muhammad and [...] a “mad Mullah” (21), but this is entirely conjecture. What is noticeable, however, is the contrast between the ecstatic expression on the faces of Kjaersgaard and Bluitgen, and the much more sombre demeanour of the others in this identification parade. This suggest again a meta-commentary along the lines: this is nothing but a media stunt intended to further the agenda and cause of these two characters. The victim’s remark, that “I don’t recognise him...”, again reinforces the idea that the cartoonist does not know how to draw Muhammad, or alternatively reflects that Muhammad is not at fault (i.e. not the culprit) in this event.



The overarching feeling when perusing these cartoons then is certainly not one of the cartoonists being in agreement with the editors of *Jyllands Posten*. They are vastly different contributions and generally critical of the task set and the reasoning by the editors. Whereas the framing of the cartoons leaves little to the imagination, the cartoons are indeed extraordinarily ambiguous. Surely, however, it is the caption “The face of Muhammad” that makes people fail to see that very few of the cartoons insult Muhammad, let alone depict him. To this end, the experiment as set out by the editors can only be viewed as an, at least initially, unqualified fiasco. They simply did not fit into their rhetoric. Klausen sums up this point in her chapter “The Editors and the Cartoonist” concluding:

The remedy would have been to subject each drawing to editorial evaluation and decide to publish some and not others. The editors, however, had placed themselves in an impossible position. The content of the cartoons was never discussed for the obvious reason that it would have gone against the premises of the experiment [...] A normal process of editorial assessment, in which the editors made substantive decisions about quality and content, was out of the question because it would have seemed like censorship. (20)

Let us now turn our attention to the Zapiro cartoons. The by now infamous series of editorial cartoons referred to as “the Rape of Lady Justice” were the culmination in a long line of highly critical cartoons depicting president Jacob Zuma. The first cartoon in the series of four was published in Johannesburg by the Sunday Times on 7 September 2009. Like their Danish counterpart they came to spark an intense debate and, in the words of Hammet: “provide a moment in which tensions around race, gender, freedom of speech, judicial independence, and the consolidation of democracy was revealed” (“Zapiro and Zuma” 1).



©2009 Zapiro.com. Figure 2: “Collaboration”.

On surface level the cartoons depict the iconic figure of Lady Justice, portrayed as an African woman about to be raped by Jacob Zuma, soon to be the President of South Africa. Here she is being held to the ground as he unbuckles his trousers. Egging him on are Julius Malema, President of the ANC Youth League, Gwede Mantashe, Secretary-General of the ANC, Blade Nzimande, head of the South African Communist Party, and Zwelinzima Vavi, General Secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Looking up from his horrific task, Mantashe says to his leader: ‘Go for it, Boss!’

Having already set the scene for this publication earlier in this paper, it is relevant at this stage to note the highly critical stance of the Sunday Times against Zuma’s ANC. As illustrated previously, the post-apartheid era in South Africa, and the transformation of the major liberation struggle movement towards an accountable and transparent governing body, had been fraught with problems. The South African media scape had been an extremely contested space, as powers beholden to an authoritarian government wished to retain strict control. Under the guise of interests of nation-building, the ANC found the critical stance of the media downright unpatriotic and disturbing to their project of transformation. A major proponent for such criticism had been coming from Zapiro. Regarding himself as a voice from within, both in the sense that he is a supporter of the new South Africa (post-apartheid) and as an ANC member, he had grown increasingly disillusioned with the politics and behaviour of the party’s top brass. As such, this particular attack on the big-wigs of the ANC

and its supporting organizations, was par for the course as set out by the cartoonist. Mason echoes this sentiment in his analysis of the situation:

Zapiro's 'Rape of Lady Justice' cartoon may be seen as an expression of a pervasive discourse of disillusionment that was very visible in the editorial pages of the mainstream South African press in the months following the ANC's December 2007 conference, where Thabo Mbeki was unseated as leader of the ruling party and Jacob Zuma began to consolidate his power in preparation for his assault on the presidency. During this period an overriding sense of 'doom and gloom' was visible in the writings of mainstream columnists, many of whom issued dire warnings about the demise of the constitutional state in South Africa. (46)

Needless to say, the actual cartoons soon developed a life of their own, being appropriated by the multiple stakeholders. Leaving, via this layered mediation, their original context and form, they soon became mere interpretations of Zapiro's initial idea. Mason succinctly illustrates this process of a picture travelling faster than its intended discourse:

Originally published in the *Sunday Times*, the cartoon was quickly picked up and republished by other newspapers, in most cases contextualized by an accompanying editorial that took a position on it. Simultaneously, it was widely discussed on radio talk shows during which there was vociferous public participation. It became the subject of numerous news reports, editorials, opinion pieces and letters to the editor in the local and international press. In addition to these appearances on traditional media platforms, it also migrated instantly into the online environment of the Internet, where it was reproduced an inestimable number of times. (40)

It is however essential to observe that the statement made by the Rape of Justice cartoons by no means was exceptional to the prevalent sentiment at the time. As with the Muhammad cartoons, the focus of the media was very much on these issues of the schism in South Africa politics. Mason relays the sentiment as follows:

A scan of newspaper columns and editorials from this period reveals that the discourse of disillusionment articulated in Zapiro's cartoons was entirely consistent with the mood of the mainstream press in general. The sense of disillusionment arose from two primary concerns: first, that ANC leaders had failed to uphold the high expectations of personal conduct required by the Constitution (and exemplified by Mandela) and were actively seeking to erode the powers of oversight invested in

constitutional mechanisms designed to safeguard democracy; second, that the state was clearly unable to meet popular expectations by providing the majority of the population with tangible benefits emanating from the new democracy. [...] Thus, while many highly influential South Africans paid lip service to constitutionalism, the restrictions it imposed on their political and economic behaviour may have been experienced in a negative light, as a stumbling block to the advancement of their aims. Thus, in September 2008, the Lady Justice figure stood silhouetted, not against a trans-subjective horizon of expectations, but at the intersection of divergent horizons. (48)

An interesting observation at this point is that while Jonathan Shapiro cannot escape the colour of his skin, and therefore in the context of a post-apartheid South Africa still for some will represent certain stereotypes of the white supremacist, the cartoon does not overtly play on racial prejudice. It is not a white woman being raped. It is not even the quintessential Western institution of a constitution being disrespected. This is circumvented by Shapiro's usage of his 1994 'invention' of a black Lady Justice. Used a multitude of times in his editorial cartoons, she acutely represents the South African constitution and judicial system, an entity that ultimately pertains to all South Africans. She, and this is pivotal to our understanding and a valid analysis, is a metaphorical character, but importantly not in herself in any way symbolic of any interracial Othering. Mason also chooses to accentuate this critical point of departure in his analysis, by stating:

Possibly the most complex and intriguing aspect of Shapiro's rape of Justice Cartoon is that Lady Justice is portrayed as an African woman. Through this mechanism, the cartoonist's intention is made clear: the rape is not intended to symbolize an assault on European civilization in Africa per se, but, rather, an assault on the South African judicial system. It is my suggestion that, the Lady Justice figure can be taken to symbolize the South African Constitution and, hence, the future of constitutionalism in South Africa, widely held to be under threat. (39)

There can be no doubt that the cartoons are the depiction of symbolic 'rape' of an abstract concept. Contentious, however, is Shapiro's use of the rape metaphor itself. Certainly, from the point of view of his detractors, this, although well-established, metaphor cannot be used so freely in a South Africa context, where rape constitutes a social evil of endemic proportions. This confrontational approach, furthermore bearing in mind Zuma's at the time

pending rape charges<sup>71</sup>, unfortunately became the sole discussion point of his critics. Nevertheless, the intention as stated by Zapiro himself was that “the image was meant to be allegorical: a certain political group, represented by a certain leadership clique, prepares to violate the justice system of the country” (23).

When we look at the first Rape of Justice cartoon, we immediately recognise the caricature of Zuma, as it has become standard over the years. Positioned to the left of the frame, we instantly recognise the small, rounded person as Zuma even if he is turned away from the viewer. It is the depiction of his (here exaggerated) negroid features such as full lips and protruding buttocks, but also the, by now iconic, faucet attached to his forehead. The faucet<sup>72</sup>, a symbol created by Zapiro, to denote his ignorance of HIV/Aids and as a reminder of his rape trial, had been a standard since the rape acquittal two years prior. Zuma is here depicted unhurriedly opening his trousers, mouth open in excitement. He is enjoying the moment, taking in the sight in front of him – savouring the anticipation of what is to happen. The animalistic lecherousness has the effect of highlighting a buffoonish character, a character devoid of moral restraint.

Following his gaze, we see the object of his desire. The stereotypical damsel-in-distress. Curled up in a foetal position, kicking with her legs and generally struggling to get free, we see the allegorical personification of Lady Justice. She is clearly identifiable here because of her scales (which in the struggle she has lost to the side), her blindfold (denoting her impartiality in legal matters) and by her sash with the wording “Justice System”. As mentioned this personification is made further relatable by being a depiction of a woman of colour. Lady Justice is not just a statue or a symbol, but decidedly a “real” woman. In the desperation to break free of her captors’ hold, there is an unnerving and sinister connotation made to her blindfold, as representing elements of sadomasochistic, violent behaviour. It is as if the men in their oppression of her also are also denying her this sense.

Pushing down their victim we have the exaggerated but accurate and recognisable caricatures of Zuma’s henchmen and alliance partners. As a whole they are looking expectant and generally unfazed. Malema is depicted with his dark, menacing eyes very close together,

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<sup>71</sup> Charges of which he was acquitted, but which nevertheless earned him the faucet attached to his forehead by Zapiro as a comment on his ignorant testament on how to avoid getting HIV/AIDS.

<sup>72</sup> The faucet was, however, temporarily, taken away as Zuma started his presidency. Zapiro wanted to give him a chance to behave in a “presidential manner” and therefore showed him this respect. It did not take long for the faucet to be reinstated.

giving the impression of ominous, even fanatical, tendencies. The rest of the comrades are depicted in classical caricature style as being somewhat slow and dim-witted. Mantashe has the frame's only comment, spurring on Zuma, exclaiming "Go for it, Boss!" Naturally this remark further established their utter lack of respect for Lady Justice, but it speaks volumes of their cruel indifference towards what she stands for. The use of the word 'Boss' furthermore accentuates the irony of their allegiance and respect. As a moment, in a sense frozen in time, this image of a gang rape about to happen, is extremely powerful for its depiction of absolute power, corruption and moral digression. The men not only outnumber the woman, but treat her with so little respect. She is merely an object, another victim on their way to power.

This was, however, only to be the beginning of the controversy. Zapiro had not finished his attack, and in the following weeks he continued his rage against the moral ineptitude of the top of South African politics. In fact, a mere four days after the initial publication of the original Rape of Justice cartoon, the next one hit the newspaper stands. In the space of these four days, there had been all manner of public response to the cartoon. As we have seen, the discourse had been divided into two oppositional camps, with calls for a third (legal evaluation) to be done by both parties. Zuma and his compatriots spent the time claiming their innocence and vocally expressing their respect for the judicial system as well as praising the Constitution of the country. For many these declarations sounded hollow. For Zapiro their reaction to what he saw as his right of freedom of expression combined with their continual threatening demeanour against the courts, was disingenuous and sanctimonious in the extreme. He therefore decided to use the same image, slightly moderated to further expand on his point about their disgraceful behaviour.

The second editorial cartoon in the Rape of Justice cartoons reminds one of a spot-the-difference exercise. The characters depicted remain the same, the positioning of them is identical to the first drawing and the overall message seems to have altered very little. However, a close analysis does reveal subtle differences. First of all, the speech bubble now belongs to Zuma who declares that "...But before we start I just want to say how much we respect you!" The three dots here indicates that this is indeed a continuation of the previous frame. The hypocrisy of such a statement, the sarcastic undertone implied, hits home Zapiro's point with ultimate clarity. Here is a man and his men who have no qualms, no ethical nor moral considerations and scruples. Their sanctimonious deceit of claiming to respect whilst in the process of abusing, is made clear for all to see.



Zuma's faucet has stopped dripping in this frame. Verster suggests this is to illustrate that he is "less eager" (96); for me it seems an indication of how calculated and stretched this ordeal is. Time has passed since the initial cartoon, yet Zuma is still committed, he is even pontificating and extending the anticipatory element of the rape for his own pleasure. Lady Justice here has given up the fight, her mouth is closed in recognition of the futility of her screaming for help. Still her legs remain curled up in a non-cooperative, foetal position, and her eyebrows are knitted in defiance, but she is now facing her perpetrator (albeit still blindfolded in submission). Her fragile and desperate stance in this frame seems to have come to personify South African society's resignation, its general attitude of uncomfortable acceptance about the state of politics in the country.



©2009 Zapiro.com. Figure 3: "Respect".

Malema, Mantashe, Nzimande and Vavi remain in their positions of weighing down on their victim. Now, however, they are all closing their eyes. The insinuation is that they are turning a blind eye to their actions. Distancing themselves from their true selves. Conversely, there is a sense here of entitlement, of the charlatans feeling justified in their actions. The implication that the ANC and their partners are indeed above the law of the country, and as uttered many

times by Zuma himself, only need to answer to God himself, is apparent. Zuma's standard line to rile the crowds at ANC rallies is here depicted in all its pompousness. This aspect, combined with the tiring and increasingly resigned manner of Lady Justice, adds another layer of cruelty to the image. The slyness of the offenders and their complete lack of women's rights and human decency is even more disconcerting here. The words of false respect merged with the act of rape makes this a horrendously pertinent image.

Although Zapiro was to revisit and recycle on the image and metaphor that worked so well in this series of cartoons, the last and concluding cartoon of my focus came ten days after the second one. In this we have a three-frame drawing, supposed to remind the viewer/reader of the context of the judicial moral abyss of the ANC leadership. Again borrowing from the initial cartoon, we here have a textual commentary, as well as mirror image, with Mbeki et al., committing the same violation as his predecessor. The first frame boldly exclaims: "Invalid: The NPA's faulty procedure against Zuma". This statement pertains to the fact that the investigation and subsequent court case where Zuma had been charged with bribery, racketeering etc. had been thrown out by the Supreme Court. The feeling was that the case against Zuma had been interfered with at political level and largely orchestrated by his opponent, Thabo Mbeki, in the race for the presidency. As Verster summarises:

This cartoon by Zapiro suggested that Thabo Mbeki violated the justice system as much as Zuma did when Mbeki and his allies allegedly interfered with the Zuma trial. Consequently, Supreme Court Judge Chris Nicholson ruled that the Scorpion's decision to prosecute Zuma on fraud and corruption charges was illegal, as Zuma's claims of political agendas in his prosecution were "not completely unbelievable".

(101)

The cartoon's second frame was a reprisal of the original Rape of Justice drawing, and in turn highlighting the similarity of deed of the third frame, a mirror image but of Mbeki and his supporters engaged in the same crime. Zapiro here cast Mbeki (President in South Africa from 1999 to 2008) in the role of the rapist, while Bulelani Ncguka (Director of Public Prosecutions), Penuel Maduna (Member of Parliament), Bridgette Mabandla (minister of justice and constitutional development) and Mkotedi Mpshe (Director of the National Prosecution Authority) replaced Zuma's allies to pin down Lady Justice.





©2009 Zapiro.com. Figure 4: “Still Valid”.

Under the headings “Still valid” and “Also valid”, frames two and three again reinforced Zapiro’s frustration at the lack of a moral compass anywhere in the ANC and again lamented the corruption within the party, and most of all, the disrepute it was bringing on to his old organisation by its intrinsic disrespect of the judicial system of the country.

Whilst Zuma and his supporters celebrated this remarkable turn of events in their favour, Zapiro, by including and similarly vilifying his adversary, not only reinforced the metaphorical basis of his drawing, but also regrettably diluted its initial message. By including the accusation to the other wing of the ANC, a near total who’s who of South African politics, Zapiro had spread his criticism too thin to carry the same shocking effect. In a country so disillusioned with politics and politicians, he was now merely adding to the existing sentiment of cynical disenchantment. However there can be no doubt that the series in its entirety served as a great example of how powerful the genre of editorial cartooning can be. Verster moreover praises the sequence of the cartoons (he names them respectively “Collaboration”, “Respect” and “Still Valid”) and their validity as illustrations of tremendous impact:

Zapiro relied on the reader’s knowledge of “Collaboration” to understand what Zuma’s words and the cartoon in its entirety mean. The cartoons cannot stand alone, because it comments not only on Zuma’s actions, but also on “Collaboration” as an entity. Without knowledge of “Collaboration”, “Respect” will make no sense to future researchers, as is the case with “Also valid”. If “Respect” and “Collaboration” are read as an ongoing commentary, or as a comic strip with a string of panels, a more complete picture evolves, and therefore a better understanding of each cartoon and the role it plays in the collective, namely the Rape of Justicia cartoons. The fact that Zapiro’s editors decided to publish more cartoons with this theme after the response

“Collaboration” had, proved that they agreed with his opinion regarding the threat to the integrity of the justice system. In the opinion of the researcher the cartoon delivered its message in a clear and direct manner and is deemed an example of highly effective visual satire. (99)

What Zapiro certainly intended to achieve was to fulfil his role of commentator and as the distanced and detached critic of the moral state of the country. The first two cartoons arguably did just as much to close down meaningful debate (as to open it up) because of their antagonistic stance, whereas the third achieved a more layered and nuanced opinion. By ultimately highlighting the disputes within the ANC, his conclusive comment achieved a more balanced tone. As Mason puts it:

Political cartoons are windows on a nation’s psyche’ but this generalisation is altogether too glib, suggesting that a nation can have a single, unitary ‘psyche’. In the case of South Africa, as I have argued above, this is an untenable proposition. Power in South Africa today is not monolithic, and may more usefully be seen as a contested area of shifting alliances. Even within the ruling party itself, ruptures exist. (43)

The Rape of Justice cartoons thus finally become not just another Zapiro attack on the persona that is Jacob Zuma, but ends up underscoring the real divide in South African culture with regards to democracy and constitutional matters. In the words of Mason, they shed light on the deep-seated gulf between the understanding and willingness to apply the basic tenets of Western liberal democratic ideals in a multi-culturally split society:

April 1994 represented a moment of convergence between two separate horizons of expectation (on the one hand, constitutionalism, with its emphasis on individual freedoms; on the other, the national democratic revolution, with its inherent collectivism), Zapiro’s ‘Rape of Lady Justice’ cartoon represents a moment of divergence, at which certain (very dominant) tendencies within the ANC and its Alliance partners came to see the Constitution and the judiciary as impediments to their agenda. In this sense, the cartoon very clearly flags the divergence of these previously convergent horizons of expectation. (56)

There can be no doubt that the primary focus and outrage had to do with the startling and shocking quality of the image of the rape scene. The sheer power of the incongruity applied here to form the base of the metaphor, was for many a step too far. The suggestions from Zuma’s camp that Zapiro’s criticism furthermore came from a place of superiority, added fuel

to the fire. Certainly neither of the three cartoons can be said to attempt any form of ordinary humour. Albeit caricature, the emphasis here is not on funny features or witty punch lines, but solely on the intentions and actions of those depicted. The drawings do not express anything other than frustration and moral outrage, it blames and accuses those portrayed of a complete lack of empathy, trustworthiness and indeed humanity. Their body language and the ease with which they carry out this most heinous crime, is a total indictment of not just their actions, but also the emptiness of their long-term ideologies.

### **Seriously Funny**

As illustrated by both the Muhammad cartoons and the series of cartoons by Zapiro, the genre of editorial cartooning habitually combines graphic art and (political) commentary in a thought-provoking, clever and witty way. These single panels of satire serves both as corrective measures, but also as snapshots of a given society. In time they can become historical documents, but at their most basic they are minor mass produced pieces of art in tomorrow's fish and chips wrappers. They are always firmly rooted in the liberalistic and democratic notion of freedom of speech, and are as such, an obvious and staunch proponent and supporter of this.

The best editorial cartoons manage to conflate and crystallize a complex issue into a single metaphor. This is often done in a cynical and overwhelmingly negative way – the editorial cartoon has no pretences to be neither neutral nor objective. It is opinionated by nature, and therefore also signed by the cartoonist to make clear that this is the view of an (identifiable and highly subjective) individual. This kind of visual shorthand aims to expose its victims, to point out their Achilles heel, their flaws and shortcomings. Any hypocritical behaviour, any broken promises or negation on behalf of the subject, is pounced upon. Indeed, the best editorial cartoons have a savage quality to them. A ruthless streak in the ability to depict a person in his or her most unflattering way. It does so not just for laughs, but to make the

viewer/reader think and judge. An editorial cartoon, like stand-up comedy, aims to twist what you already know and let you see it in another light. This ability to change the reader's perspective by giving you a visual metaphor encapsulating a given situation, can be very powerful indeed.

Setting out to shed light on issues and stimulating debate, editorial cartooning is a no-holds-barred endeavour. Hammett states:

A symptom of an emerging constitutional crisis in South Africa, specifically focuses on the genre's inherent ability to capture elements of a nation's zeitgeist that can be utilized to explore a wide range of inter-connected issues within complex contexts.  
(89)

This is often done in a humorous and provocative way. Indeed poking fun is an essential quality of the genre, and generally the best editorial cartoons do entertain. The use of caricature, satire and irony are the trademarks of the genre and the drawings that are often out of scale, disproportioned and distorted, accentuates the comedic value.

However, as a tool to speak about the taboos and tough issues, they are equally unparalleled because of the piercing quality a visual image can have. They often offend and are seen by many as doing nothing but creating further tensions around the issues they are dealing with. This is certainly sometimes the case, but it is equally true that they speak to people in a direct and immediate way, that continually is intent to open up debate rather than closing it down. As a kind of naughty companion to the editorial, which often is authored by the newspaper's editor and therefore can be said to reflect the views of the paper itself, it gives light to the newspaper page, it breaks the monotony of the layout. It remains a space where freedom of expression is champion, and indeed championed.

Illan Danjoux, professor at the University of Manchester, has researched the history of the editorial cartooning and traces the genre of political (editorial) cartooning back to Egypt around 1630 BC, "(here) an artist lampooned Iknaton, the unpopular father-in-law of Tutankhamen. This marked one of numerous satirical attacks on ancient Egyptian leaders that ranged from Cleopatra to low-level government official" (245). Caricature has also been found of ancient Indian rulers. However, it is with the invention of the printing press in the late nineteenth century that editorial cartooning was established: "(Printing) led to the emergence of the broadsheet, [...] which were loose page editorial productions designed for mass consumption [...] offering readers a synopsis and analysis of current events" (Danjoux

245). In these, the cartoonist could reign free without much censoring. This however is the compromise taken on by the cartoonist, as broadsheets are outphased due to their expensive nature and replaced by newspapers. The invention of more modern printing technologies meant that production cost was significantly lowered, making the medium of news available to a much larger segment of the population. Danjoux states that: “cartoonists were offered broader distribution and a steady flow of income. In return, cartoonists grudgingly accepted editorial scrutiny and production deadlines” (245).

This definitely took its toll on the artistic freedom and the independency of the profession and could have been the end of them in this new business. In short, artistic value now took the backseat, and the ability to work under pressure and analyse current events came to the fore. The caricatures could no longer be self-serving but had to appeal to a broad spectre of readers.

The history of editorial cartooning is full of examples of how they have been used to influence societies:

Occasionally, both governments and elites have attempted to harness the medium’s power for political ends. Napoleon reportedly encouraged French artists to create cartoons that sanctioned his policies. Both the central and allied forces in World War I commissioned cartoonists to demonize the enemy and glorify the struggle in order to boost public support on the home front. During the Spanish-American War, American newspaper baron William Hearst asked artists to draw cartoons of fake Spanish atrocities to whip up support for a war against Spain. More recently, in 2006, the Israeli military intelligence department created political cartoons depicting Hezbollah as a snake that threatened the existence of Lebanon to accompany leaflet drops over Southern Lebanon. (Issacharoff 2)

Certainly these illustrations of the power of drawings and representations throughout history, must be acknowledged by both the cartoonists and their “readers”. Maybe their potential role as propaganda is even stronger today, in a world where an image can become viral and reach an immense amount of internet users almost instantaneously. In this sense the world has become a very small place, albeit still being an enormously diverse entity when it comes to different cultural interpretations and understandings of a given text or image. Indeed, it has repeatedly been the editorial cartoonist’s ability to undermine authority that has been feared. The involuntary “branding” of a politician or a person in the spotlight of the media can

receive through being depicted in an editorial cartoon, often leaves an indelible mark on a leader's public image. This has been a most potent attribute of cartoons: "Leaders often struggle to undo the typecasting thrust upon them by cartoonist (and) [...] most leaders consider the cartoon's ability to undermine political legitimacy a genuine threat" (Danjoux 246). To this end a range of history's most prominent personalities have had problems with the editorial cartoonist:

Both Aristotle and Aristophanes describe the torture of a cartoonist named Pauson for his attacks on Greek leadership. French artist Honore Daumier was sentenced to jail for his satirical derision of King Louis Phillippe and the aristocracy. Adolf Hitler ordered the name of English cartoonist David Low be put on the Gestapo's list of people to be exterminated. More recently, Kurdish cartoonist Dogan Guzal was sentenced to 16 months in a high-security prison in August 1998 for depicting his government as weak. (Kallaugher 12)

What later chapters will examine in detail, are the different discourses a cartoon produces. The reactions to any given cartoon invariably falls into one of three categories. Either that of the cartoonist claiming the right to freedom of expression, that of the victim feeling insulted or defamed, or, finally, that of the law deciding the legal ramifications involved. Historically though, there are very few recorded instances of cartoonists being dragged before a court and losing the case. Chris Lamb lists a number of cases where plaintiffs were discouraged from suing. This is mainly down to the strong historical roots of the genre and the fact that it is considered a valuable part of a democratic society. Andy Mason, himself an active editorial cartoonist, credits the popularity of the genre to its accessible, no frills, nature. It might be, he notices, what "literary snobs would refer to as a debased form", but the ability to instantly comprehend its meaning, has for many people endeared it to them. The self-deprecating attitude of someone like Charles Schultz: "I do not regard what I am doing as great Art" (Qtd. in Mason 34), famous for his strip *Peanuts*, also makes this connection to the people clear.

Editorial cartoonists might by some be seen as opportunistic parasites, surviving on the backs of serious newspapers or the cultural snapshot, occupying the space where information stops and artistic play begins. However, its subjectivity, and the fact that there is a real, opinionated person behind it, has undoubtedly made it an important part of the news coverage both historically and today.

In Denmark editorial cartooning really got going in the early part of the 20th century. Its satirical aspects generally went down well with readers and its victims alike. The Danes ‘unofficially subscribe’ to what is called the Law of Jante<sup>73</sup>, which prescribes that you should never feel or act superior to your fellow man, and so the insistence by the cartoons to laugh at oneself, and anyone stepping out of line, seemed tailor-made. It is therefore of no surprise that editorial cartooning in Denmark has long been viewed as an essential part of the press’s ideal function as the Fourth Estate<sup>74</sup>. Many a politician has had to learn to cope with the ridicule imposed on them by the cartoonists, and have been ‘good sports’ in accepting and laughing along. Exactly like Jacob Zuma is continuously depicted with a showerhead above his head by Zapiro, so was the Danish prime minister at the time of the publication of the Muhammad cartoons, always shown as a bat-wielding caveman<sup>75</sup>.

In South Africa, conversely, the case has often been completely different. Editorial cartooning was, because of the apartheid regime, very often censored, but the work was also inherently from the perspective of the white Western liberalist. Cartooning was simply not an

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<sup>73</sup> Generally accredited to author Aleksander Sandemose who in 1933 wrote a novel entitled “A refugee goes beyond the limits” in which the character called Jante lives according to the following advice. The following summary, and list of commandments if you will, is widely adhered to in a Danish society where any sort of flashy or snobbish behaviour is socially frowned upon: “You aren’t worth a thing, nobody is interested in what you think, and mediocrity and anonymity are your best bet. If you act this way, you will never have any big problems in life.”

The complete Law of Jante

Don’t think you’re something  
 Don’t think you are worth the same as us  
 Don’t think you’re smarter than us  
 Don’t think you’re better than us  
 Don’t think you’re wiser than us  
 Don’t think you’re more than us  
 Don’t think you’re good at anything  
 Don’t laugh at us  
 Don’t think anyone care about you  
 Don’t think you have anything to teach us. (as quoted on PaulCoelhoblog.com 14)

<sup>74</sup> The notion of the media as a major player in shaping society comes from a speech given by Alexander H. Everett in 1934 in which he declared: “The media began to assume some degree of political importance, during the civil wars of the seventeenth century, in England; but it is not until within the last fifty years that they have become, -- as they are now justly styled, -- a Fourth Estate, exercising a more powerful influence on the public affairs of the countries in which they are permitted to circulate freely, than the other three put together. (32)

<sup>75</sup> Fogh-Rasmussen ran his government with an iron fist. It was a notorious top-down approach, and a management style designed to limit any signs of inter-party strife, restricting the opposition from making any inroads by conveying or exploiting weaknesses within his own party. When he finally left his position as prime minister for the high-profile job as Secretary of the UN, it was largely thought to be because of his forceful nature and ability to stay under the radar while remaining firmly in charge.



African thing. It had little or no place in the African cultures. Mason muses whether this is down to:

cartooning being culturally specific and therefore not universally intelligible or that traditional African culture in our part of the world is orally based and therefore not easily adapt to the visual language of cartooning. [...] Another theory is that cartoons and comics are actually more complex than many people realise and that the semiotic codes and visual conventions that they use are not easy for people with low levels of visual literacy to grasp. (167)

I think a few of Mason's ideas come across somewhat patronising, in that he rather condescendingly reduces African cultures as "orally based" and therefore portrays a much too simplified picture of the myriad of cultures represented on the continent. Suffice to say that editorial cartooning has its roots in the birthplace of liberal ideas (England and America) and therefore is intrinsically linked to the Western-style democracy in which freedom of speech is virtually beyond reproach. What is unfortunate to note is that the medium to a large extent accentuated the very stereotypes it should be breaking down:

The liberal cartoonist of the (apartheid) period generally concentrated their critique on the white political arena and seldom attempted to give expression to the realities of life experienced by black people under apartheid. And when they did, their portrayals tended to display the conventions of racial caricature, often without a necessarily conscious intention to denigrate African people. (Mason 61)

This unfortunate history of just the one perspective is surely one of the causes for Zapiro's problems today. Although a card carrying member of the ANC till 2008 and coming from a family devoted to the struggle against apartheid, Zapiro is white in a black country, and so his work largely continues to be seen as anchored in these Western ideals of liberalism, rather than the Ubuntu promoted, at least superficially, by the ANC government. The criticism pivotally centres on his failings (because of what is considered an overly critical attitude towards the leaders of the government). Mason speculates that the only way forward "is to cultivate a more diverse community of cartoonists in this country, (as Zapiro's work) is seen as an Anti-Zuma activity, inherently counter-revolutionary, anti-struggle, whites-only activity that needs to be snuffed out" (156).

Zapiro cannot be happy with this assessment and neither is this how the editorial cartoonists around the world see their role. However, having the government on its back has always been



part of the job. Chris Lamb phrases it thus: “Editorial cartoonist are not supposed to be government’s propagandists: this is the job of other people. Cartoonists are supposed to keep a jaundiced eye on the democracy and those threatening it, whether the threats come from outside or inside the country” (4).

Cartooning is comparable to an intervention in which the ‘victim’ is stripped of his lies and laid bare to the public. This assumed role of the moral guardian in turns puts the cartoonist in a very vulnerable position. When demanding transparency and honesty of others, one must fare with caution and expect that people hung out to dry, will want some sort of revenge or vindication. To this end it is a historically recurring event that in a situation of crisis (war, governmental crisis etc.) the state often tries to close down the access to and use of freedom of expression of journalists and editorial cartoonists alike. And so we must protect this “jester’s space” (as) societies that attempt this curtailment are “on the slippery slope towards authoritarianism” (Mason 7).

In South Africa in the 1970s, during one such regime, the respected playwright Athol Fugard praised the satire of the editorial cartoonist saying: “South Africa is a madhouse, prey to a unique brand of idiocy. Laughter is the sound of indignation, the sound of sanity, in a country where the white minority took itself seriously to a ludicrous degree” (Qtd. in Mason 63). This is interestingly echoed in an editorial by Zapiro’s then editor, Mondli Mankhanya, in 2008 where he asserts:

There is ignorance about the role of the editorial cartoonist in South Africa.

Cartoonists are the court jesters who make us laugh and then cry when we realise that what’s been drawn is often the fundamental truth or a portent of what might come to pass if we are not vigilant [...] The cartoon is a sacred space and believing in media freedom is not a tap you can switch on and off, taming his pen and sharpen it there [...] the greater the freedom of the cartoonist, the higher the democratic quotient of the society. (2)

From these authorities we see that editorial cartooning rightfully has taken a place at the helm of the free press. They occupy a space at the forefront of the ever continuing debate in a democracy about the shape and shapers of this system. Interestingly this position within the media comes at the expense of many of its most basic tenets. The editorial cartoonist inhabits a very different space to that of the regular journalist. Below are the Ten Commandments for ethical journalism as set out by South African media lawyer Johan Retief:

Preamble: the media shall be free because the public has a right to be informed.

You shall therefore:

1. Be accurate both in text and context (and correct mistakes promptly).
2. Be truthful, only using deceptive methods of public importance if there is no other way of uncovering the facts.
3. Be fair, presenting all relevant facts in a balanced way.
4. Be duly impartial in reporting the news and when commenting on it.
5. Protect confidential sources, unless it is of overriding public interest to do otherwise.
6. Be free from obligation to any interest group.
7. Respect the privacy of individuals, unless it is overridden by legitimate public interest.
8. Not intrude into private grief and distress, unless such intrusion is overridden by a legitimate public interest.
9. Refrain from any stereotyping.
10. Be socially responsible in referring to matters of indecency, obscenity, violence, brutality, blasphemy and sex. (Qtd. in Claassen 138)

We can say that at most two out of these ten ‘commandments’ apply to the editorial cartoonist, namely being “free of obligations to any interest group” and to “not intrude into the private grief and distress”. For the rest, well, these rules just do not apply. Lamb phrases it accordingly: “(the editorial cartoonist) must shake readers out of their complacency [...] awaken society and demand its involvement in protecting democracy, regardless of how unpleasant the intrusion is” (102).

Where the job of the regular journalist, first and foremost, is to remain objective, the cartoonist gladly accepts subjectivity. None of the procedures such as fact-checking, use of quotations, structuring information into appropriate sequences and giving supporting evidence, are embraced by the cartoonist:

For editorial cartoonist there is no inverted pyramid, no need for contact with sources, no need to present both side of an issue, and no need to be objective; in fact these are all counterproductive to satire. Cartoonists are not expected to break the news; rather, their job is to satirize it. (Lamb 144)

These distinctions are important when we analyse the work of the political cartoonist. It is a fundamental aspect that we cannot judge their commentary by the standards of a regular journalist, yet this has so often been done. Cartoons are not meant to be or function as educational or informative segments. They might be, but it is not their primary justification. They sometimes are accurate in their commentary, but crucially they are not factual, but an exaggerated and subjective interpretation of the facts. They are decidedly not “the vehicles by which facts are reported (but) quite the contrary, they are deliberate departures from reality designed forcefully, and sometimes viciously to express opinion” (Lamb 91). Editorial cartoons mean serious business whilst often being funny. This is their appeal to the thick-skinned in the population, the people that understand that humour can bring a new perspective. Because of this even Archbishop Emeritus, Desmond Tutu is a fan. In the foreword to *Truth Drawn in Jest*, he writes:

They (Cartoonists) point to our foibles, puncture our pompousness and try to get us not to take ourselves too seriously, to take the mickey out of ourselves and so to begin to see things in a proper perspective [...] thank God for cartoonists [...] for keeping us sane and human. (Qtd. in Verwoerd & Mabizela vii)

Humour is indeed a funny thing. Exposed to analysis, it disappears. It is not what it appears to be, it is of such a frail nature that it itself, cannot withstand what it projects. As an academic topic it is inherently wrong, because of the danger of becoming too serious about it, and in turn, entering instead a realm of ridiculousness. The notion that any sort of reflection upon the subject kills laughter, permeates any scholarly works found.

The evasive nature of humour can largely be attributed to its three main features that all serve to deny easy analysis. Foremost, humour is paradoxical. At once universal, it must also be said to be highly particular. Consider its presence in all countries and across all cultures, yet it remains utterly specific because of differing cultural codes and historical backgrounds.

Although the search continues for the holy grail of comedy, the all-encompassing one-liner or humorous image, it seems unlikely that one such perfect piece of humour defying all cultural

borders will ever be discovered. Secondly, we must acknowledge that humour is in instances both supremely social and at other times excruciatingly anti-social. It makes people bond and works as a very positive factor as the glue to connect people, but despite these inclusive abilities, it can certainly also be seen as divisive and exclusive at its core. Thirdly we can often categorise humour as possessing elements that are mysterious and resistant to analysis, yet in other instances both clearly understandable and analysable.

However, that is not to say that scientists, philosophers, biologists and other academics have not entered into the study. Michael Billig, author of *Laughter and Ridicule: Towards a social Critique of Humour* is perhaps one of the few that has tried to categorise the levels on which humour works<sup>76</sup>. Delving into the history of academic writing done on the subject, he distinguishes between three separate levels on which humour might work and come about. The first level is referred to as the ‘superiority theory’. Dubbed so by Thomas Hobbes, it states that humour is never innocent. It is always linked with the feeling of being superior, of being cleverer than someone else. Thomas Hobbes is often quoted on this topic, saying: “Laughter is nothing else but a sudden glory arising from a sudden conception of some eminence in ourselves, by comparison with the infirmity of others [...] a man who is laughed at is triumphed over” (Qtd. in Feinberg 2006). The idea here is that humour at its core is derisive in nature. There is here the clear suggestion that there is malice in amusement. That the act of laughing and being funny, as James Sulley a British psychologist, in 1902 in “Essay on Laughter” writes fundamentally is: “[...]to accompany and give voice to what may be called the derogatory impulse in man, his impulse to look out for and to rejoice over what is mean and undignified”(119-120). Suffice to say that humour on this level (and in these times) largely was seen as “scornful”, “less than wholesome” and ultimately, “ethically suspect” (Billig 39). As a classic example, Billig refers to the Platonic dialogue *Philebus* in which Socrates muses that when we “enjoy comedies our souls combine pleasure and pain” (40). What is inferred is our sense of joy when faced with characters with a misplaced view of themselves, when we delight in the ignorance or false arrogance of others.

The second level upon which humour works is labelled incongruity. Behind this term lies the coming together of two or more dissimilar entities to form a new, albeit disjointed, whole. It is in other words the creation of a contrast and the humorous effect this can happen. This

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<sup>76</sup>Billig ironically begins his long-awaited work by stating that: “A book on humour should have been enjoyable to write [...] it did not turn out that way. In fact there have been many a day when I wished I’d undertaken a less ostensibly pleasant task” (Acknowledgements).

level highlights the link between wittiness and creativity, and this was, according to men like philosopher and physician John Locke, the height of humour. To Locke the key to humour, and being funny as it were, was through abilities such as judgement (timing) and perception. Richard Wiseman on his website The Laugh Lab gives the following example of this kind of humour:

Two fish in a tank.

One turns to the other and says: “Do you know how to drive this?” (12)

Here the set-up line leads us to think about two fish in a fish tank. But the punch line surprises us – why should the fish be able to drive a fish tank? Then, a split second later, we suddenly realise that the word ‘tank’ has two meanings, and that the fish are actually in the army vehicle, the tank. The shock of the incongruity, and in turn the speed at which we can decipher the connection is what makes it work. The theory of incongruity as the main catalyst of humour firmly distances itself from Hobbes cynical viewpoint in that it implies that we no longer need a “victim”, someone or something to laugh at. It furthermore lends itself to the humorous being extended, as the audience is invited, indeed included, in the process of ‘making’ funny. In this theory, laughter, and the ability to do so and making others do so, is no longer shameful, but instead takes on a much more positive character. As Billig puts it “the gentleman of wit is quick, clever and cheerful, not a point-scoring bully” (65).

The third and final category or philosophy about laughter and humour according to Billig was named the “relief theory” in 1859. Widely attributed to Herbert Spencer<sup>77</sup> and rather overshadowed in its year of publication by Charles Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species*, it basically argues that humour and laughter is derived from events addressing unconscious and repressed thoughts, leading to a release of laughter and joy in the form of excess energy. Here social constraints eventually give way, because of an individual’s nervous system, thereby permitting that person to show his/her joy more or less involuntarily. In all the work Spencer did on this, Billig claims, he only manages a single example:

Imagine a theatrical play where the audience is happily and sympathetically anticipating that the hero and heroine are about to be reconciled. Suddenly the

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<sup>77</sup> Incidentally Spencer himself was famous for his lack of a sense of humour and a constant serious demeanour. James Sully in *Essay on laughter* recounts how Spencer’s company “was so exacting that a host and his family once escaped from their own house by the back door, leaving their distinguished guest sitting in the drawing room oblivious”. William James in a biography of Spencer similarly unfavourably states that he was “a petty faultfinder and a stickler for trifles” (111).

performance is interrupted. A young goat wanders in from the wings onto the stage. The animal sniffs around. The audience laughs. (Qtd. in Billig 99)

Because the audience is sympathetically disposed to the characters on the stage, Spencer argues that the laughter cannot be interpreted as an attempt to humiliate. Rather it is the nervous energy accumulated by the audience in anticipation of the climax of the play that is released, as if by a valve. Laughter and what we find humorous is in this theory then the product of a build-up of expectation, somehow interrupted and therefore expressed.

It is within this realm, within these kinds of humour theories that cartoons belong. Whether or not they fit into one or the other, or even if they are deemed not to be not funny. Because of the established nature of the genre and our expectations of it, they remain firmly rooted in a context where humour is automatically associated by its audience. Editorial cartoons all represent an invite to the viewer or reader of the cartoon (the audience) to enter this realm. Gary Alan Fine in *Humorous Interaction and the Social Construction of Meaning: Making Sense in a Jocular Vein* writes that a “joke requires, even demands, a response” (101). The same can be said for the editorial cartoon.

Within the expectations we have of the genre, a reaction on either of the levels of humour as discussed above, is to be envisioned. This reaction within many other genres, such as stand-up comedy or sit-com TV, is sought for what is called ‘humour support’<sup>78</sup>. However, because of the editorial cartoonist’s moral superiority, relative distance to both his audience and his subjects, and finally the overly satirical and ironic stance of the genre, he is afforded different tools of getting at the ‘humour levels’ of his audience. Unlike a stand-up comedian his popularity, and in turn the success of his endeavours, does not depend on people clapping and laughing, but rather the need to inspire thinking (albeit often through the medium of a humorous genre). Jennifer Hay in her article on this topic “The Pragmatics of Humor Support”, succinctly articulates this sentiment accordingly:

The audience is expected to recognize and understand the joker’s intention to be funny, but they are not obliged to appreciate or agree with it. Thus, the possibility of humor support

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<sup>78</sup> Humour support here is used in the sense of delivering material to an audience in order to win them over. To make them side with you. It is sought picking relatable and suitable topics and largely by adhering and catering to the audience’s expectations. By creating these familiar settings and gradually applying very subtle pieces incongruity a communal space of humour takes shape and creates a space of ‘humour support’ where the audience’s positivity is actively helping the humour along.

implies the possibility of its opposite, unlaughter—when audiences withhold appreciation or agreement and reject the invitation to joke. (76)

Interestingly most research on humour, on what produces laughter and essentially what is funny or not, focuses mainly on the competence and the performance of the one trying to be funny. In doing so, a kind of ideal audience is imagined, the kind of audience that somehow exists outside of a cultural and social context, and therefore will give humour support if the quality of humour on display is up to an equally “imagined” standard. But negating the relevance of the audience is of no use when looking at these cartoons of conflicts, as we have contextualised them within cultural and social discourses, and therefore must focus on the various receptions they had, to understand their importance and continued significance in shaping the socio-political world order. As Moira Smith writes: “When it comes to humor disputes such as the Muhammad cartoon controversy, however, the issue of reception of humour must take center stage” (152).

This means that for the analytical purposes of this paper, we need to pay extra attention to the audience, because it is within the void between sender and receiver, in the grey zone of intentions and interpretations that the root of the controversy is to be found. It is by analysing the cartoons within the four stages of humour response<sup>79</sup> and on the three levels of humour ‘production’ as outlined above, that we can see where these ‘clashes’ evolved from.

There can be no doubt that the editorial cartoonist knows about these different theories, plays on these and exploits them. He places himself on the moral high ground as he ruthlessly exposes the folly and hypocrisy of others. The art form is, like humour itself, founded on the idea of ridicule and embarrassment and suffering of someone else, but it certainly also panders to the other mechanism of laughter.

The editorial cartoonist’s intention is threefold: to puncture the status quo, to make people sit up and take notice and to educate the ‘satirically challenged’. To question the dogmas of society, the cartoonist uses every trick in the book, but none more so than satire. The opinion he tries to shape, the message he is making, is done so through what can be termed ‘the various tools of propaganda’.

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<sup>79</sup>I have, for the purposes of this paper’s analysis of the cartoons of Westergaard and Zapiro chosen to adopt the theoretical framework of humour response as laid out by Jennifer Hay. In her brilliant article “The Pragmatics of Humor Support” she distinguishes between the initial stage of recognition, subsequent stage of understanding, the stage of appreciation and the final stage of agreement (Hay 72-73).



These technical dimensions of editorial cartooning include an amalgamation of image and caption. This relationship between image and its framing is the very core upon which the success of the cartoon relies. It must be in balance. These two entities do not just support each other, as is often the case with an article and its picture, but rather there is an intricate interplay between word and image. Mason describes it accordingly:

In a good cartoon, the text does not duplicate the information contained in the image, it builds on it. The task of the image is to set the scene – to establish character, location and situation. The image relieves the text of the burden of description, freeing it to pursue and nail down the joke. Sometimes, words are not even necessary. More often, they take the form of dialogue, ‘spoken’ by the characters. (In) cartoons, the characters are fictionalised representations of real people, distorted in a kind of funny mirror. Through an alchemical process, enabling us to see through their poses and postures. And, in the same way, the meanings that lie behind their utterances become audible to us. (17)

However, there will always be a gap between producer and receiver, which is why cartoons always (potentially) run the risk of being so dramatically misinterpreted. Not relying on substantiated facts, and just stating these, is a dangerous field to explore, but it is nevertheless inherent to the genre. The likelihood that we all interpret an image the same is slight. Meaning is after all generated in the eye of the beholder, and the cartoonist must therefore seek to frame and anchor his message. Zapiro recognises the difficulty of making an incisive statement clearly, realising that here less is more:

Don’t try to do too much in one drawing. A single well-communicated idea is invariably better than a set of complicated ideas. The result (can) be a confusing and diluted cartoon that doesn’t hold the reader’s attention [...] I realise that conceptual clarity without over-elaboration is best. (Qtd. in Hadland 145).

Certainly ensuring that the image is anchored, remains a pedagogical responsibility for the cartoonist. Context is everything when it comes to the genre. Without being properly introduced to the topic commented on, the reader has little chance of understanding, and the cartoon itself, in turn, no chance of being successful in its communication. This means that accuracy in the text, but most pertinently in the drawing, is of tantamount importance. Just like a caricature of someone we do not know is deeply uninteresting, so the caricature that does not capture a person we know, is wholly unfulfilling. Likewise the reader must have



knowledge and understanding of the scenarios and metaphors being used. Obscure references communicate poorly in this medium. Zapiro remarks: “Caricature is a potent weapon in a cartoonist’s armoury. Identifying and exaggerating facial features is used to identify personalities, even to the extent of reducing them to a few simple elements” (Qtd. in Hadland 123). With some people this seems more easily done than with others. Some public figures lend themselves nicely to caricature. Think of Hitler (quintessentially the modern day hipster look, tight-fitting clothes, a fringe and a small moustache), Archbishop Tutu (colourful robes), and the pope (tall, cone-shaped hat and a cross). Others are much more nondescript, both in attire and facial features. In these instances what often happens is that the cartoonist must anchor the image with textual references (in the shape of party affiliation emblems, abbreviations of their names etc.).

Often the caricatures over time take on a life of their own and prominent figures ‘grow into’ these. This is very often also accentuated as other cartoonists duplicate what has become the most prominent caricature of this persona. The procedure of caricature might on the face of it seem innocuous and harmless, and whereas it does constitute a careful study of someone’s persona, it is also deeply unfair. Leonard Feinberg in his *Introduction to Satire* explains:

Caricature [...] operates by choosing an objectionable quality, attributing it to an individual or group, then describing the victim only in terms of that disagreeable characteristic. In carrying out this process, oversimplification is the basic requirement. To the degree that oversimplifying is unfair, caricature is certainly unfair. It distorts, by exaggerating and twisting out of shape both objects (individuals, groups, institutions) and ideas. By exaggerating the hypocrisy or selfishness or inconsistency, the satirist exposes it to public view and degrades the victim. (116-117)

This focus placed on the faults of others is harsh and in many ways absurd. However, in seeking the perfect deformity instead of form, the cartoonist does penetrate through that thick layer of appearance and (political and or media) spin that all public figures use today. A defence for this practice is often expressed as it gives a more accurate representation, or in the words of Feinberg, as: “(it) is truer than reality itself” (117). It is the perfect counter form of communication in these times of soundbites and spin doctoring, as especially used by those in power. When politicians or religious leaders choose to show us a selected and pre-framed view of themselves and their ideas, it seems only just that the editorial cartoonist can do the same. Caricature is iconoclastic, possibly blasphemous and destructive in nature, but

never without the aim of pointing our attention to an issue that needs to be dealt with. When satire unmask somebody through this process of selection of inadequacies and imperfections, it fundamentally makes us feel good about ourselves. In line with the theory of humour being about feeling superior, this stripping down of people in power is gratifying in the sense that it allows us to recognise the commonality of all people. Those in power are finally just people too, and this is of great comfort for anyone's self-image. But is it morally defensible for the editorial cartoonist to claim this high ground? Does that not also make them valid 'targets' of satire? These considerations are justified, but as Feinberg explains, we must see it in a much broader spectrum:

There exists a double standard in the structure of society. We really do know that life is a struggle for survival, that the fittest tend to live longest, and that the fitness only to a limited degree of the qualities which conventional morality calls 'good'. Honesty, piety, humility, hard work, sacrifice, altruism, and love of labour are all meritorious qualities. But even a cursory examination reveals that the successful men in our society (successful in the sense that they have power, money, or other socially desirable objects) have achieved their objectives by using capabilities which are irrelevant to morality: ability, ambition, shrewdness, energy, and sometimes unscrupulousness and selfishness result in material success. In the very primary activities of life we pretend to accept one standard; we practice another [...] this is the double standard in society (and) is the fundamental source of satire. (24)

What Feinberg points out is the breeding ground for satirical cartooning, and much of humour at that, namely the schism between what we say and what we do. In public life we are all pretending. We are all vain in some respects, we all have vices and fetishes, we all, from time to time, act against our better (moral) judgement. That we live in a world where humanist virtues are king, does not mean that we live life accordingly. Therefore it is not just the violation of moral norms, such as ethics, that are 'guarded' by the cartoonist, but often social norms, such as appropriateness. The cartoonists are preoccupied with customs, and deftly punish anyone stepping 'out of line'. "The ironic realisation" writes Feinberg:

is that the more civilized and idealistic a society becomes, the more hypocritical it is likely to be. Because what we call civilization requires the suppression of aggression and desires which may harm society, (and promotes) politeness (which) is socially useful but often artificial. (33)

It is within this ‘fake’ world that satire walks the fine line between unconscious hypocrisy and sadism, spinning a fresh and original view on issues familiar to all. Satire does not invent, but exaggerates, events through biased criticism. And as civilisation largely is based on impossible ethical systems, there is always material for the switched on cartoonist.

The cartoonist accepts the role of the moral, omnipotent protector of rights, but must do so without coming across as superfluously sanctimonious. Hence the indispensable application of humour, and that of the detached observer so rooted in Western liberal irony. The cartoonist, in other words, must camouflage his anger and find the balance between claiming moral high ground and insulting arrogance. The cartoonist must insist on his agenda being for the good of society, whilst pointing out the inconsistencies of his victims. This is often achieved by not antagonising the readership, by choosing topics (victims) known to be disliked, but often also by not depicting the wicked ways of the victim, but rather their ridiculousness and inappropriateness. It is important to note that editorial cartooning does not always get this balance right. The degree to which the Othering of the victim is anti-democratic can be considerable. This is because of cartooning’s insistence of control of the narrative. Much like in the scene from *Alice in Wonderland* recounted below, where Humpty Dumpty appropriates language, thereby precluding any challenges posed:

When I use a word,” Humpty Dumpty said in a rather scornful tone,” it means just what I choose it to mean – neither more nor less.” “The question is,” said Alice, “whether you can make words mean so many different things.” The Question is,” said Humpty Dumpty, “Which is to be the master, that’s all. (Carroll 209-210)

Humpty Dumpty’s assumed position of master of interpretations (or language as a whole) is no doubt envied by cartoonists. Their use of images and captions expressing strong critique can but only give off the impression of infallibility. It is but the best cartoonists, and their best work, that really hit the nail on the head and fulfil the role they have been given.

This role is given to them by their editor, and so they might not belong to regular journalistic staff (nor work under the same restriction), but they are nevertheless not in it alone. As the person charged with the responsibility of running the newspaper or media outlet, the editor takes many roles in his relationship with the editorial cartoonist. Lamb for instance distinguishes between the “cartoonist’s editor” and the “writer’s editor”. The writer’s editor has little understanding of the cartoonist’s plight and is less likely to render the control to the cartoonist, seeing them as problem makers and potential headaches. Rogues playing outside

the established rules. The cartoonist's editor, on the other hand, supports the cartoonist and sees real value in what he can bring to the paper. The relationship is almost always fraught with difficulties. This is often due to the problematics of revising a cartoon. The editor cannot just edit away what he or she dislikes from a drawing, as they would an article, but have to respect the organic nature of a cartoon. Everything is interconnected and it is often not just a case of changing any one thing. Therefore the editor very often becomes the first point of censorship. It is after all his or her prerogative to publish or not. These on-going discussions often become very animated as is the case in this example retold by Lamb:

After *The Sun* published the cartoon, offended readers complained to the publisher, editor, and cartoonist. In response, the editorial page editor, Richard Kerfield, who had approved the drawing, called Cantrell (the cartoonist) and told him that the newspaper was going to apologize for running the cartoon. "Apologize?" Cantrell replied. "Why?" "It was a mistake to run the cartoon," Kerfield said. "How can expressing an opinion be a mistake?" Cantrell asked. "You crossed the line. It was offensive". Despite Cantrell's protest, the newspaper ran an apology in the next day's edition. Cantrell then publicly questioned the integrity of the apology, telling one reporter: "I don't mind kissing the editor's ring, but I just wish he would take it out of his back pocket." Cantrell was then ordered to the editor's office, where he was told he had been put on probation and could no longer work from home; he would have to do his work at the newspaper, where he would be better supervised. When Cantrell angrily protested, the editor told him he could be replaced. (126)

Ultimately, when published, the cartoonist is happy. He has managed to voice his opinion and reach a wide readership. The supportive editor has hopefully, in return, gained the freshness and provocation needed for debate.

With these traits of the genre in mind, we may attempt a closer look at the cartoons that form the "texts" of reference to this paper. Interestingly, they seem to all work on a similar level of humour. Whereas both cartoonist have a huge back catalogue of very funny strips and cartoons, and indeed continue to produce work of a more straightforward and accessible (as opposed to divisive) nature, the ones selected here (and the ones who really brought renewed attention to the genre), are different. They do not attempt to entertain, but rather, are highly provocative in their nature. The aim in these cartoons is to use the genre as a space of dissent, commenting upon current power relations in a very graphic and explicit way. Whereas we

can find subtle markers of irony and satire, they are essentially very serious drawings, betraying the cartoonist's usually aloof position and humorous distance to his subjects. These are, as Lyombe Eko states "(an example of) newspaper cartoons as counter-discourses that challenge the images of authoritarianism that have carefully been cultivated" (221). Indeed, these images are not meant to provide the reader with a quick laugh, but rather aim to be a kind of "lightning rod for grievances" (Hammet, "Political Cartoons" 9). They cut right to the bone whilst conflating an awful lot of opinion and messages into a single frame. Going straight for the man and not the ball, to borrow from the sporting world, they tackle very prominent issues, using very serious measures. Often labelled "weapons of the weak", these cartoons ultimately show how much force can be generated within a drawing. In a sense they do what we have come to expect of the genre, but it is the unapologetic and on the face of it, "un-humorous" and confrontational manner in which it is done, that imposes itself onto the audience. Hammet, who writes widely on the genre, describes the approach accordingly:

Political cartoons often capture the intersections and experiences of power and resistance that constantly occur in the negotiation of identity, position and status. The space of a cartoon frame is able to reflect back, ridicule and contest the ideals and ideology of the powerful in ways that sometimes reverse the process of domination and at other times refuse the authority of the powerful by avoiding the subject positions expected by the elite. The power of such images lies in their ability to capture and express underlying sentiments and concerns. Often these images are not meant to be humorous, are not meant to make the reader laugh. Instead they are intended to invoke 'unlaughter' and have greater similarities with satire than with amusement. (112)

To contextualise this kind of humour, and to show that it is not just a phenomenon of the world of cartoons, we can take a look at the approach taken by the comedian Stephen Colbert when giving a speech at the White House Correspondents' Association Dinner in 2006. A recurring event, it was hosted by the president at the time, George W. Bush, and is the one evening of the year where the press and the administration of the world's most powerful country mingle in an informal setting. However, the cosy atmosphere soon turned rather uncomfortable when Colbert delivered his speech. Throughout his whole performance Colbert adhered to his stage persona, a conservative pundit modelled after Fox's polemical talk-show host, Bill O'Reilly. Colbert's contribution, coming shortly after a brief sketch involving the president and an impersonator, rapidly became a major talking point on the

airwaves, in newspaper columns, and via social-networking sites. The comedian began with some typically tongue-in-cheek flattery of the forty-fourth president:

Wow! Wow, what an honour! The White House Correspondents' dinner. To actually – to sit here at the same table with my hero, George W. Bush, to be this close to the man. I feel like I'm dreaming.

I stand by this man. I stand by this man, because he stands for things. Not only for things, he stands on things, things like aircraft carriers and rubble and recently flooded city squares. And that sends a strong message that no matter what happens to America, she will always rebound with the most powerfully staged photo-ops in the world<sup>80</sup>. (Transcript from googlevideo)

After acknowledging his physical proximity to the leader of the free world, Colbert launched into a satirical critique of American political life post-9/11, including an assault on a presidential lack of intellectual curiosity, an overzealous prosecution of the war on terror, and a supine media. At least that was the sentiment that lay beneath his explicit obsequiousness. On the surface, Colbert appeared empathetic with the president throughout. Indeed, his act worked so well because Colbert was, and is, a knowing comedian, who tells knowing jokes, and assumes that his audience can keep up, even as he segues between fact and fiction.

In this case, though, his immediate viewers may not have all been “in on” the joke. In reports that emerged after the dinner, many members of the audience appeared to be unfamiliar with both Colbert's oeuvre and his *modus operandi*. Mark Smith, the president of the White House Press Corps Association and the person who invited Colbert, appears to have been one of them. Many, in fact, were heard to voice (or otherwise express) their disapproval, some remained stony silent, and a few presidential aides apparently even walked out in protest (though we wonder, perhaps, whether job security was their motivation here). The expectations of comedy at this event, but comedy couched in politeness, were clearly refuted by Colbert; to use a spatial metaphor, his performance crossed a line. Whilst another target of Colbert's, Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia, did laugh at the comedian's routine, he seems to have been one of the few exceptions. It is fair to say that on that night, in the

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<sup>80</sup> This excerpt taken from the address itself.

Google Videos, <<http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-869183917758574879#>>, accessed 5 Feb. 2012. Colbert's references are to Bush's heavily dramatized (and scripted) landing on the USS Abraham Lincoln in 2003, after which he announced the end of major hostilities in Iraq, and the flooding of New Orleans in 2005.

Washington Hilton (where twenty-five years earlier Ronald Reagan had survived an assassination attempt), Colbert ‘bombed’.

Such a reaction is perhaps understandable. Comedic denunciations of an incumbent president rarely occur in such close physical proximity to the target in question. While we may be familiar with the refrain ‘speaking truth to the face of power’, Colbert’s performance took things a step further, ‘mocking the face of power’ in ways that were blunt, up-close and personal (Doods and Kirby 46).

This excellent, and one would have to say, very brave example of standing up to the powers that be, was made possible with the subtle use of unlaughter. Colbert did not want laughter. He wanted the people present, and the president especially, to feel alienated, made a mockery of. By not being ‘in’ on the joke, by not understanding the premise, they were in a sense neither privy to nor in any position to help themselves out of the humiliating situation they were put in. Unlaughter places focus not on performance (Colbert delivered his lines with a look of sincerity and without any comedic gestures), not on the text (which at least at a literal level is seen as praising its subject), but instead on the audience and their reception (or lack of, as it were). This level of Othering, of creating an “us versus them” situation is what Moira Smith calls ‘boundary maintenance’ through the use of humour. She argues that:

The contemporary importance that is placed on the sense of humour [...] fuels strategic uses of humour performances to provoke humourless responses and, in so doing, to heighten social boundaries. The humorous texts themselves may be of less interest than their reception and the interpretation of the audience response. (143)

For the purpose of this paper the notion of humour as a dividing factor is pertinent. Both sets of cartoons are exclusive rather than inclusive in the way they have been constructed to entertain only one part of the conflict. Furthermore, and in line with the strategic use of unlaughter, they aim to produce in the one side precisely the kind of behaviour for which they are condemned. It is important to point out that what eventually became a cog in the grand wheel of Huntington’s “Clash of Civilisations” was in a sense, at least at core level, initially just a case of controversial humour, designed so as not to be understood or accepted by the victims of the cartoons. As discussed earlier this then, in turn, became

a face-off between competing rights: on the one hand, freedom of expression; on the other, the expectation of tolerance and respect for religious sensibilities. (In the case of the Muhammad cartoons) [...] both positions were elevated to dizzying heights of



importance by being placed in a context of a confrontation between the secular West and the Muslim East. (Smith 149)

Conversely, we can view Zapiro and Zuma's feud running a parallel course, with emphasis rather placed on freedom of expression coming up against traditional tribal African values of respect for the leaders of society. Daniel Wickberg notes:

Although the most commonly preferred model of humour is described as "laughing with" rather than "laughing at" them, it was not always so; humor was not characteristically associated with sympathy until the nineteenth century. In other words, humor is often sympathetic, but sympathy is not a defining characteristic of humor, and to say that laughter is usually shared and collaborative is to express a moral position rather than an empirical one. (65)

Certainly there does seem to be a trend towards placing more emphasis on people's ability to be 'with it' or 'getting it'. Solidarity achieved through the same sense of humour is an important part of our interaction with others, and a fundamental factor in developing our identities in the 21st century. Moira Smith goes even further and states that a sense of humour has become:

the paragon of virtues. In this cynical age, we do not necessarily expect courage, honesty, industry, or loyalty from others, but a sense of humor is non-negotiable. Where a sense of humor is thought to be a sign of emotional and psychological health, the lack of it renders one almost pathologically deficient. Accordingly, humourlessness has become linked with any number of negative traits such as egotism, fanaticism, superstition, mental inflexibility, and even mental illness. (158)

It is within this context that these cartoons are firmly placed. The cartoonist, from his position of moral superiority, discards solidarity and marks the boundaries through the emphasis on the distinguishing factors in tolerance (and 'culturally inherent' ability), to accept and understand the message behind the pen strokes. Rather fitting for the purposes of my arguments in this paper about the divisive character of the cartoons and how they play into the hands of anyone wanting to create strife between parties of differing cultures and religions, Professor John Morreall remarks that:

Humour, in serious thought, is looked upon derisively; as irrational and pointless, often requiring the denigration of others to succeed. Such lineage can be traced back



as far as the Bible, where laughter is rarely considered beneficial or spiritually enriching (32).

Certainly we must ascertain that characterisation, as far as The Bible and The Quran are concerned, is done almost exclusively through the interpretation of actions. No one, apart from the deities themselves, is adorned with any adjectives, and humour as a desirable trait is not mentioned anywhere.

Undoubtedly a uniting feature in the selected cartoons in this paper is that they rely heavily on the genre's ability to ridicule. As discussed earlier, Rose intended the exercise of ridiculing the Other, in the case of the Muhammed cartoons the Muslim community in Denmark, to be an expression of inclusion rather than exclusion. This is rarely the way ridicule manifests itself or indeed is received. Widely seen as a 'negative'<sup>81</sup> inordinate crucial role on ridicule, or what in his time was known as raillery. It was, in his opinion, crucial for the maintenance of a reasonable common sense. To this end, ridicule was to be applied rigorously as a weapon against anything that challenged the liberty of the English people. Famously Shaftesbury in his *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* writes that: "Folly and extravagance of any kind were (to be) more sharply inspected and wittily ridiculed. [...] Ideas if they have any merit, should be able to stand up the test of ridicule" (8).

Whether this is the sentiment that Rose envisaged remains unclear, but it seems to support his general reasoning about applying ridicule as a strategy to stir up a debate about, in his view, problematic tendencies in the Danish society.

Suffice to say that Westergaard and Rose's attempt at integration through insult and ridicule did not go to plan<sup>82</sup>. This overly aggressive and confrontational approach seldom bears a positive outcome. In support of this point, Michael Billig states that "ridicule can be more hurtful than hatred. After all, hatred can often be more easily returned than ridicule. Hating those that ridicule us does not necessarily ease the pain" (195). Indeed, in many cultures ridicule is today seen as something belonging to someone of an immature and uncultivated

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<sup>81</sup> Used here in the sense that it serves to denigrate its 'victim', relying heavily on Hobbes' superiority theory in doing so.

<sup>82</sup> Rose in a column written for the *Washington post*, however, differed in this estimation with regards to its effects on shaping Europe and its relationship with immigrants. Here he concluded his article by stating: "In the words of the Somali-born Dutch politician Ayaan Hirsi Ali, the integration of Muslims into European society has been sped up by 300 years due to the cartoons. (1)

mind, it is deemed as something to be outgrown. We have come to view ridicule as akin to bullying or teasing, arguably a lower sort of humour reflecting poorly on whoever employs it. Ultimately the strategy of ridiculing to bring about a change has shown to be a failure. It becomes entirely futile and is at its core, although protected by the constitutions of the two countries in question, undemocratic. This is due to its inherent Othering, the shutting down of dialogue. Caroline Boe and Peter Hervik similarly conclude:

Thus ‘integration through ridicule’ is a strategy that can only reproduce and worsen the very problem it claims to solve. The journalists and public intellectuals who support this framework rely on a rudimentary method of solving conflicts, a method that has become dominant in popular culture, namely the idea that staying firm and being tough one can beat one’s opponents and re-establish peace and order. As such, claiming that the solution to the alleged lack of integration lies in intolerance, discipline, no compromise, no apology and no dialogue positions is counter-productive. (“The Danish Conflict” 231)

If we, however, accept Zapiro and Westergaard’s intentions of merely applying the tools of their trade, the kind of pressure possible to achieve through their art form for the noble purpose of raising awareness and instigate a debate, we must also look at the choice of their target and how this effected the reaction of the recipients. On this topic Sigmund Freud in *Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious* makes the astute observation that “only jokes that have a purpose run the risk of meeting with people who do not want to listen to them” (78). What Freud argues is that we do not only laugh at the technical wit of the joke, or in our case the technical aspects of an editorial drawing, and the humour created as a result. We, at least on an unconscious level, are amused by what he labels the tendentious thought underlying the joke. In his opinion we are fooling ourselves about the “goodness” or the innocence of the cartoons. When we laugh at a racist joke or image it is not merely because we admire the technicality, but rather and more importantly because we take pleasure in and agree with the underlying message. To this end we buy into the idea of comedy as an escape from reality, to the extent that we repress awareness of our feelings and are “driven to avoid the self-knowledge about our laughter” (Billig 160). To paraphrase Freud’s main argument: we do not know why we laugh, but wanting to believe the best of ourselves we claim that the laughter comes from a place of objective distance unrelated to our own values. A useful illustration of this can be found in Diane Boxer and Ferdinand Cortes-Conde’s *From Boxing to Biting: Conversational Joking and Identity Play* in which they discuss teasing. Focusing on

the often very one-sided pleasure derived from this, they discuss how we (in this case, the teaser) continually will want to convince ourselves that we are acting in good spirits, by seeking to control the behaviour, by labelling it “joking or teasing”, rather than “bullying or mocking” (18). My point here is simply that even though the ‘surface’ intentions of the two cartoonists and their editors seem straight forward, they nevertheless contain a whole other layer of unconscious opinions, values and prejudice. Following Freud’s ideas we must then remain extremely critical of our conscious intent, we need to be wary of these claims as they do not encompass the entire spectre of our reasoning. Neither is it a chance failure of our part to identify this underlying level of reasoning, but rather a systematic repression of our complicity.

Another example of this phenomenon is given by Billig. In this instance it is the comments made by then Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi when giving the opening speech in the European Parliament in 2003. Regarded as a colourful character in his homeland and an intolerable, criminal buffoon anywhere else, Berlusconi is no stranger to controversy<sup>83</sup>:

Berlusconi’s speech to the European Parliament was not going well. Across the chamber could be heard the sounds of dissent. Some members were booing; others were banging on their desks. Berlusconi turned to one of the protesters, a German MEP: “Mr. Schultz, I know there is a producer in Italy who is making a film on Nazi concentration camps. I will suggest you for the role of commandant. You’d be perfect”. He beamed at his own wit. There was a pause, as his Italian words were translated into the various languages of the MEP’s, followed by audible gasps and booing. He was being ‘ironic’, he added over the noise. He continued to smile, as if it proved his point. (178)

Berlusconi’s intention undoubtedly was to mock and ridicule his opponent (in this case a politician showing his displeasure at his speech). He wanted to gain humour support and turn the laughter towards the German MEP. Alas, his attempt at humour, whether we deem it funny or not, was ultimately an unsuccessful and wholly inappropriate use of irony exactly because of the content of his statement and not because of his rather wretched technical

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<sup>83</sup> The example is furthermore comparable to the two instances of ‘cartoon crisis’ discussed in this paper where the media used their prominent position as news creator to spin their story and keep it on the front pages, in that having a near monopoly of his homeland, Mr. Berlusconi owns the RAI television and radio group, he continues to control the hegemony of narrative his persona and political career.

ability as a joke-teller. The inference that those in opposition to him were Nazis, was only too obvious coming from a man with strong political links to Mussolini's fascism.

Ultimately, this thesis also questions the success of the analysed works of Westergaard and Zapiro. In the following chapter a critical review of the cartoons and their subsequent discourses is considered.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Towards a Comparative Conclusion**

Civilizations are the ultimate human tribes, and the clash of civilizations is tribal conflict on a global scale. In the emerging world, states and groups from two different civilizations may form limited, ad hoc, tactical connections and coalitions to advance their interests against entities from a third civilization or for other shared purposes. Relations between groups from different civilizations however will be almost never close, usually cool, and often hostile.

Samuel Huntington (211)

Reflection, debate, rational argument, moral principle based on a secular notion that human beings must create their own history have been replaced by abstract ideas that celebrate American or Western exceptionalism, denigrate the relevance of context, and regard other cultures with derisive contempt. [...] Rather than the manufactured clash of civilizations, we need to concentrate on the slow working together of cultures that overlap, borrow from each other, and live together in far more interesting ways than any abridged or inauthentic mode of understanding can allow. But for that kind of wider perception we need time, patient and sceptical inquiry.

Edward Said ("In Memoriam" 867)

The controversy surrounding these two sets of cartoons must be seen, and understood, in a global, cultural and political context. This is what I have set out to do in this thesis. It is imperative that we try to understand the initial circumstances, thereby allowing us the wider perspective. There is no denying that both sets of cartoons became catalysts in what Said terms the "tumultuous dynamics of contemporary history" ("In Memoriam" 870). Placing

them within the prophecies of Said and Huntington makes for an ironic, but also astonishingly accurate, account of the development in the relationship between “the West and the Rest”. The tendencies of these relations have been explored in the analysis of the different discourses. It is my argument that the controversies arising from these drawings are the result of unavoidable clashes, as cultures learn to coexist on a more level playing field. In this context there are no right or wrongs, no good and no bad party. Be it the neoliberalist or nationalist with their championing of rights and a sense of moral superiority or a more traditional, authoritarian culture calling for respect for their icons, they must both learn to live with each other. These denominations must work constructively together to build a more tolerant and fair society. They should, progressively, try to find pragmatic compromises, instead of standing firm within their own camp of fundamental values.

Huntington might have got it spot on with his analysis of future trouble between the cultures, but we need to remember that most of these incidents – as was the case with both sets of cartoons - were orchestrated and provoked into being. They are examples of highly regulated as well as mediated discourses. Just before his death in 2003 Said gave a speech in which he looked back on the importance of his work and its significance, and he noted that:

There has been so massive and calculatedly aggressive an attack on the contemporary societies of the Arab and Muslim for their backwardness, lack of democracy, and abrogation of women’s rights that we simply forget such notions as modernity, enlightenment, and democracy are by no means simple and agreed-upon concepts that one either does or does not find like Easter eggs in the living-room (“In Memoriam” 871).

His emphasis on our difference in understanding of key concepts, and in turn, our confrontational approach in the “discussion” and implementation of these concepts is fundamental. Said highlights this discourse of emphasising difference, and unwillingness to allow another perspective, which is true for not only the situation in Denmark and South Africa, but the world at large. What we must take away from the creation and reactions of these editorial cartoons is that the world is balancing on a precipice when it comes to whether finding unity and common ground or spiralling into a fractious disarray. When Tariq Ali notes that this manufactured “civilizational conflict” (307) by what he terms the “civilization mongers” (300) has the potential to cause serious damage, we would do well to pay attention. Polemic maybe, worried definitely, he writes:

If it is true that history and democracy were born as twins in Ancient Greece, will their deaths, too, coincide? The virtual outlawing of history by the dominant culture has reduced the process of democracy to a farce. The result is a mishmash of cynicism, despair and escapism. This is precisely an environment designed to nurture irrationalism of every sort. Over the last fifty years, religious revivalism with a political edge has flourished in many different cultures. Nor is the process finished. (307)

The hegemony of the power of narrative, that Ali sees taking us away from democratic values, must therefore be interrupted. We need to allow a multitude of voices and their cultures a space in the public forum. His prediction that the path of polarisation we are taking can end in real setbacks for humanity's ability to coexist, should be noted.

Certainly we need to recognize the explosive qualities of these cartoons, whilst focusing on a much more nuanced perspective than that of Huntington, and his protégé Francis Fukuyama, whose rhetoric continues to fuel the clash of civilisation theory:

The Islamic world differs from other cultures today in one important respect. In recent years it alone has repeatedly produced significant radical movements that reject not just the Western policies, but the most basic principle of modernity itself, that of religious tolerance. (95)

It is my concern that the religious aspect of the dispute muddles the debate. The West must separate Islam from Islamism, in the same way that we have to disassociate the current ANC under Jacob Zuma with that of the historical ANC. Zuma is unfortunately a barometer of the present politics within the party, but he no longer has anything to do with the legacy of his peers such as Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela, and conversely, neither do all the world's two billion Muslims want the return of the caliphate and its Sharia laws. As Meghnad Desai argues, it is not Islam the religion that is the problem, but it is he writes:

the ideology that feeds the terrorism. It puts on religious garb and takes shelter in quotations from the Qur'an. But the ideology is political, its aim being the winning of power over people. In this, Islamism is much like other ideologies: Communism, Anarchism and Nationalism. (23)

Equally, this then also applies to the ideology of corruption surging through the ANC or, say, the nationalistic right-wing movement gaining ground in Denmark and Europe proper.

When Zuma refuses to speak English in court whilst on trial for rape (hiding behind his Zulu heritage) or when Rose and the Danes retreat into a defence of their precious “Danishness” against the hordes of foreigners, it amounts to performing a particular identity position, usurped to promote their own agenda. Zuma, as the head of the state in a constitutional democracy, must act as role model of transparency and honesty, much like Denmark needs to free itself of the US-driven imperialist, neo-liberal stronghold and reclaim its socialist past of tolerance and universal humanity.

To paraphrase Karl Marx, religion, ideologies and culture do remain “the opium of the people” (9), but maybe we should “lower the intake” and open our minds to a more inclusive approach to each other? The ideologies of both the current ANC leadership and fundamentalist versions of Islam are static and backward –they both need to get back to their dynamic, forward-looking, emancipatory, tolerant past. The recent student movement in South Africa and the poetical talents of Yahya Hassan<sup>84</sup> in Denmark are but two examples of voices (from within) possibly showing a way forward.

At the same time, I hope to have illustrated that, as Kunelius writes, “all representations are objects of struggle” (16). Representations and their relations with power is both productive and problematic. Said argues that we must avoid the simplistic and hegemonic discourse that insist that the West is always portrayed as “rational, peaceful, liberal, logical, capable of holding real values and without natural suspicion”, and that depicts the orient “as none of these things” (49). Is the binary and confrontational opposition created by Westergaard and Zapiro (and the Western liberal values they represent) helpful in achieving an integrated, multicultural society?

Crucially we need to acknowledge that the crude stereotypes and the moral superiority of the West as manifested in these cartoons belong solely within a colonial and imperialistic discourse, and as such are historical artefacts, but certainly not progressive catalysts for positive change. They are shaped by the system of power in which they are located, at a time where they should rather “criticize abuse of power and the obfuscations and distortions of official discourse” (Kennedy 6). What Westergaard and Zapiro have achieved by these drawings is to “put a face on the new fear” (Desai 17). However, this in itself, amounts to little more than what the Americans did to the Russians during the Cold War, and is surely

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<sup>84</sup> Yahya Hassan is a young Muslim poet. He is a second generation immigrant in Denmark who writes refreshingly honest about his culture and upbringing. He is an illustration of what can be achieved when the critical voices come from within a culture.



not helpful in furthering a constructive debate amongst these cultures. Preferably, the editorial cartoonists must work to create an environment conducive to a process where these traditional leaders and the cultures they embody, will be willing to modernize and transform in unity. Instead of vilifying these characters, editorial cartoonists, and the media in general, must rather criticize ideologies and ideas than run counter to the creation of a radical democracy. When Francis Robinson writes that we must cease in viewing and depicting other cultures as “an object of threat and suspicion” (392), she pinpoints the core of the problem. These reductionist representation are within our rights, they might even legally be viewed to constitute “fair comment” (Verster 45), but they are simply not helpful in building a progressive and inclusive society. Integration through insult and mockery is much like passing wind in a busy elevator: it is well within our rights, but ultimately serves no purpose other than creating an atmosphere of disgust.

Robinson’s argument that the shift in the West’s representation of “the Rest” has changed from the depiction of “the barbarian as one who is less developed” (a notion empirical in origin) towards the West’s bias being of an ideological emphasis, depicting “the Rest” as having “an inferior moral code” (115), is unfortunately accurate. This change is extremely problematic and serves merely as a confrontational approach, designed to aggravate and escalate, instead of solving the issues at hand. Speaking on behalf of the West, Robinson concludes that the attitude towards “the Rest” must be changed, if we are to avoid the full impact of Huntington’s prophecy:

If we act so as to alienate, or sustain the existing alienation of (“the Rest”) we might just begin to have a real clash of civilisations. (319)

We must recognise that the division between cultures of any kind are unavoidable, but also understand that these fissures can be temporary if we choose to view them as “transitional instabilities” (O’Hagan 386). There are bound to be hurdles along the way to integrated and inclusive societies, but if we stop to treat cultures as something to be feared, we can facilitate this transformation instead of exacerbating the issues along the way. Naturally the media, and in particular the editorial cartoonist, still has a job at being the watchdog to those in power, but their primary motivation must be the object of creating long-term social cohesion.

To gain perspective it is interesting to trace back the historical roots of democracy. Widely agreed upon to have originated from Ancient Greece, it was in Athens that the ideas of equality, liberty and respect for law and justice was first articulated. However, the original

democracy was by no means as perfect as it sounds. For these rules and values applied only to those with citizenship. That meant that neither women nor slaves (who made up more than half of the population) were seen to belong within the system of governance. With this fundamentally sexist and elitist foundation in mind, we must both acknowledge how much democratic ideas have evolved, and equally, how much it can still develop. Even today, as exemplified by the cartoons discussed in this paper, all groups of people are not treated as equals. Especially when we look at a country like South Africa we are reminded of Tariq Ali's Marxist sentiment that the immense divide in the country, and the root of its problem, is to be found in socioeconomic issues, despite the advent of democracy twenty years ago. Perhaps it is time to acknowledge that human rights such as freedom of expression is for everyone, and should not be claimed as a Danish or Western value. Equally, despite satire having its roots in the West, no one can lay claim to humour in general. Humour is not a belonging of one group over another, it should not become, as Phillips puts it "(an) essential marker of a new "We", characterised by "humour and democracy" in opposition to a new "Them" characterised by "violence and dictatorship" (214). It is a real worry that the rhetoric promoting that being a Muslim means that you are inherently violent, that this violence is the very essence of Islam; or that the very core of ANC's value system is corruption (moral and material in kind) and in contempt of the Constitution, has found so much traction in society. For this we must hold editors and editorial cartoonists at least partly responsible.

Unfortunately the dominant global discourses on "Muslim Terrorism", as on the ineptitude of African leaders, have all worked to create a crystallized discourse amounting to anti-Islam and anti-ANC that ultimately is entirely counter-productive. As Angela Phillips states "it should not be a contest between cultures, but rather a debate about Ideas" (110). To this end, it can argued that neither cartoon episode discussed in this thesis, initially was about freedom of expression. Was Zapiro not just after the man he perceived to have ruined his party and SA politics? Was Westergaard's cartoon and the editors of *Jyllands Posten* not just voicing their neo-racist, neo-nationalist and anti-Muslim views?

Just like recent terror attacks in Denmark and France are designed to create division and fear, so do the media and governments have similar agendas in their bid to control the public. Islamic State and other totalitarian groups might hide behind spurious religious ideas and interpretations, but equally do the neo-liberalists and the right-wing nationalist in their effort to project evil unto any groups representing different opinions and cultural ideals.

Drawing (on) rude stereotypes and a constant emphasis on the dichotomy of binary oppositions have failed. The cartoons analysed in this thesis are embedded in assumptions and conventions, for which we need a certain set of Member Resources to fully comprehend. In the cases of Westergaard and Zapiro's cartoon crises we have instances where people from different cultures, with very dissimilar Member Resources, are unable to agree on understanding. The ideology exemplified in the representations in the cartoons, might be seen to create consent within a group of people with the same Member Resources, but also create division and confrontation with ones who do not have these Member Resources. The cartoons reminds us how visual images are "ousting language" and leading us into a "post-linguistic phase" (Fairclough 3), and the dangers of how pictures travel but their proper contextual discourse often do not. Maybe we should insist on a "no context –no comment policy". In any case we would do well to heed the warning from the Danish philosopher, Soeren Kierkegaard, who in 1848 wrote: "People demand freedom of speech as compensation for the freedom of thought which they seldom use" (23). Still, if we want our collective morality to remain nuanced and progressive we have to let editorial cartoonists near the things we find wrong or uncomfortable. Considering intent as well as effect, and perhaps especially the potential consequences of what is represented, they should be allowed to transgress barriers that threaten our comfort and sneak into that realm where speaking truth to power reside<sup>85</sup>. Satire does aim to hurt, "but as with a bull-fighter, so with the satirist, his competence lies not in his ability to do his job but rather in the skill he deploys in doing it" (Pollard 66) – conversely, in the cartoons of Westergaard and Zapiro dealt with in this paper, they ultimately killed the bull in a manner wholly unfit of the masterful Matador.

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<sup>85</sup> See appendix for Zapiro's take on being an editorial cartoonist post-Muhammad crisis.

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## **Appendix**

### **1. Pages 130-134:**

**Examples of Kurt Westergaard's drawings on Muslims and Islam.**

### **2. Pages 135-136:**

**Letter from the Muslim ambassadors to the Prime Minister.**

### **3. Page 137:**

**Letter in response to the delegates from the Danish Prime Minister, Anders Fogh Rasmussen.**

### **4. Page 138:**

**Zapiro's cartoon on South African Health Minister, Manto Tshabala Msimang.**

### **5. Page 139:**

**Zapiro's response to the Muhammad Crisis.**

**6. Page 140:**

**Muhammeds Ansigt (Full size).**

**7. Pages 141-143:**

**The three additional pictures included in the Imam's dossier for the tour of the Middle East.**

**8. Page 144:**

**Zapiro's take on Zuma withdrawing the lawsuit against him.**

**9. Page 145:**

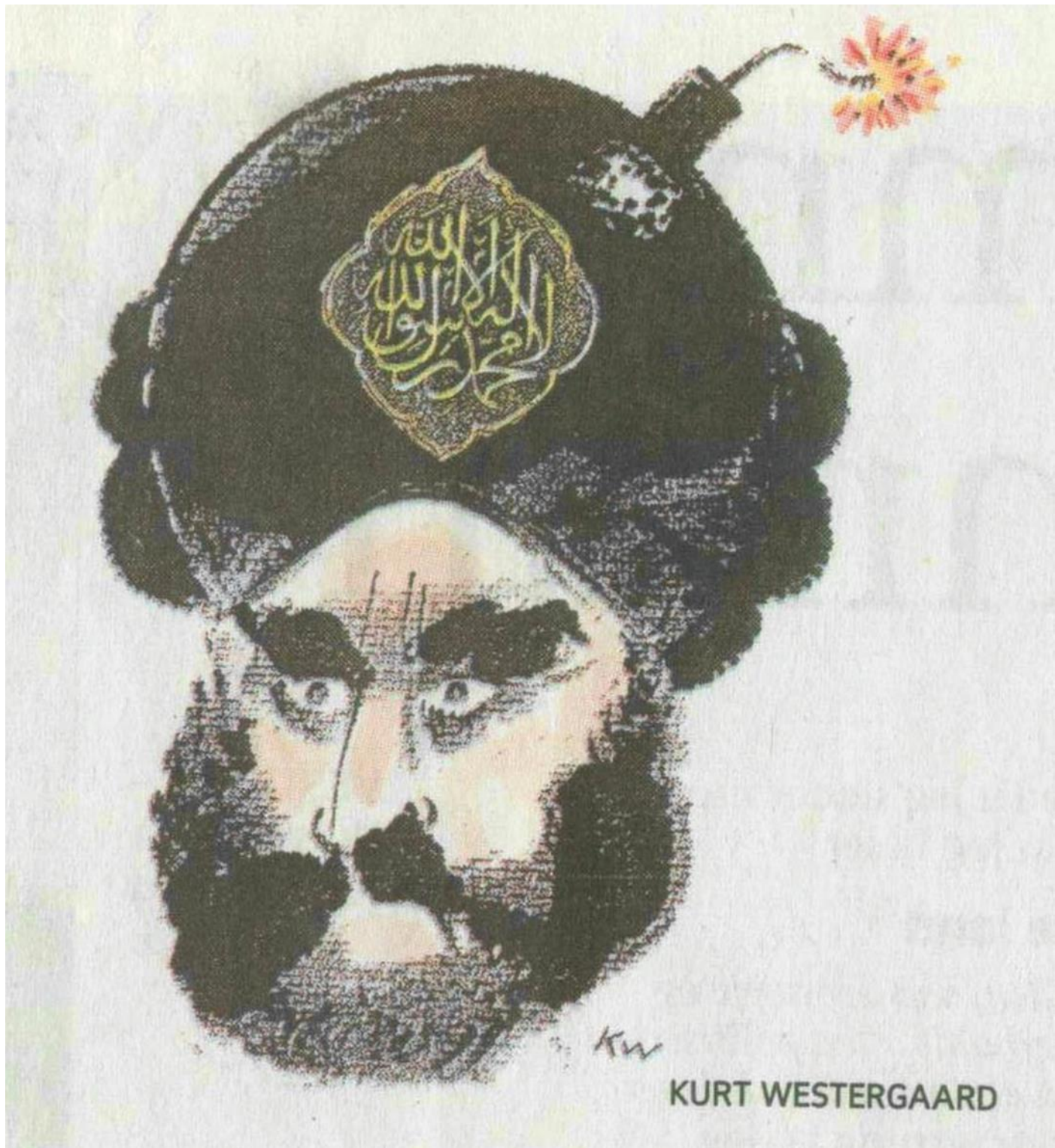
**The Spear by Brett Murray.**

**10. Page 146:**

**Zapiro on the plight of the editorial cartoonist post-Muhammad crisis.**

**11. Page 147:**

**End Note.**



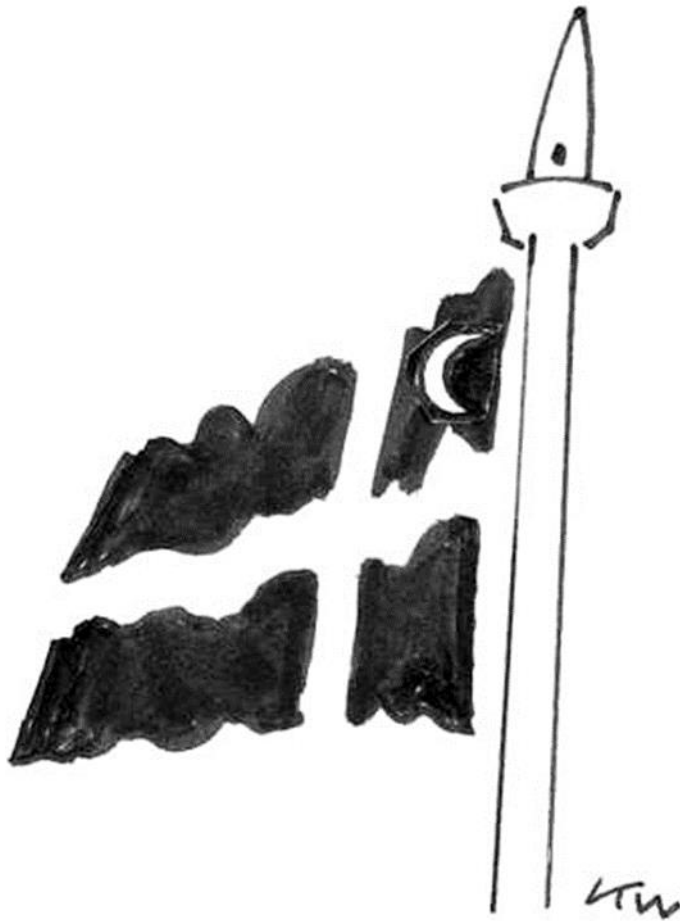
©2005. KurtWestergaard.dk. “Bomb in the turban”.



©2001. KurtWestergaard.dk. "Twin Towers".



©1996. KurtWestergaard.dk. “Original drawing of Bomb in the turban”.



©2003. KurtWestergaard.dk. "Islamization of Denmark".





©2006. KurtWestergaard.dk. “Geert Wilders – Freedom of Expression”.



12 October 2005

His Excellency  
Mr. Anders Fogh Rasmussen,  
Prime Minister  
Kingdom of Denmark

Excellency,

The undersigned Ambassadors, Cd'a.i. and Head of Palestinian General Delegation accredited to Denmark take this opportunity to draw your attention to an urgent matter.

This pertains to on-going smearing campaign in Danish public circles and media against Islam and Muslims. Radio Holger's remarks for which it was indicted, DF MP and Mayoral candidate Louise Frevert's derogatory remarks, Culture Minister Brian Mikkelsen's statement on war against Muslims and Daily Jyllands-Posten's cultural page inviting people to draw sketches of Holy Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) are some recent examples.

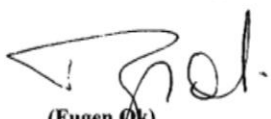
We strongly feel that casting aspersions on Islam as a religion and publishing demeaning caricatures of Holy Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) goes against the spirit of Danish values of tolerance and civil society. This is on the whole a very discriminatory tendency and does not bode well with the high human rights standards of Denmark. We may underline that it can also cause reactions in Muslim countries and among Muslim communities in Europe.


In your speech at the opening of Danish Parliament, Your Excellency rightly underlined that terrorists should not be allowed to abuse Islam for their crimes. In the same token, Danish press and public representatives should not be allowed to abuse Islam in the name of democracy, freedom of expression and human rights, the values that we all share.

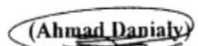
We deplore these statements and publications and urge Your Excellency's government to take all those responsible to task under law of the land in the interest of inter-faith harmony, better integration and Denmark's overall relations with Muslim world. We rest assured that you will take all steps necessary.


Given the sensitive nature of the matter, we request an urgent meeting at your convenience. An early response would be greatly appreciated.

Please accept, Excellency, best wishes and assurances of our highest consideration.

  
(Fugen Ok)  
Ambassador of Turkey.

  
(Mohammad Ibrahim Al-Hejailan)  
Ambassador of Saudi Arabia.

  
(Ahmad Danialy)  
Ambassador of the  
Islamic Republic of Iran


  
(Javed A. Qureshi)  
Ambassador of Pakistan.


  
(Mona Omar Attia)  
Ambassador of Egypt.

  
(Perwitorini Wijono)  
Ambassador of Indonesia.

  
(Latifa Benazza)  
Ambassador of Algeria.

  
(Sead Maslo)  
Ambassador of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

  
(Mohammad E.R. Rimali)  
Libyan Embassy.

  
(El Houssaine Oustitane)  
Charge d'Affaires a.i. of Morocco.

  
(Maie F.B. Sarraf)  
Head of Palestinian General Delegation.

CC: H.E. Mr. Per Stig Møller, Foreign Minister, Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
Copenhagen, Denmark.



THE PRIME MINISTER

Copenhagen, 21 OKT. 2005

List of recipients attached

Your Excellencies

Thank you very much for your letter of 12 October 2005.

The Danish society is based on respect for the freedom of expression, on religious tolerance and on equal standards for all religions. The freedom of expression is the very foundation of the Danish democracy. The freedom of expression has a wide scope and the Danish government has no means of influencing the press. However, Danish legislation prohibits acts or expressions of a blasphemous or discriminatory nature. The offended party may bring such acts or expressions to court, and it is for the courts to decide in individual cases.

I share your view that dialogue between cultures and religions needs to be based on mutual respect and understanding. There is indeed room for increasing mutual understanding between different cultures and religions.

In this regard, I have personally taken the initiative to enter into a dialogue with representatives from the Muslim communities in Denmark.

Furthermore, I would like to see the dialogue between Denmark and the Muslim world strengthened. Indeed, one of the principal objectives of the initiative "Partnership for Progress and Reform", launched by the Danish Government in 2003, is to stimulate the dialogue between Denmark, the EU and countries in North Africa and the Middle East. The initiative explicitly aims to engage a broad spectrum of Danish institutions and organisations in partnerships with their sister organisations in the Arab world and Iran. The Partnership will in this way nurture institutional and personal friendships among our societies and increase mutual understanding of the values on which we base our societies.

Yours sincerely,

Anders Fogh Rasmussen

©2005.<http://AFRbrevtransl.org.dk>. "Letter in response to Ambassadors from Anders Fogh Rasmussen".



©2007 Zapiro.com. "Manto".



©2006 Zapiro.com. "Other Prophets".





# Muhammeds ansigt



**YTRINGSFRIED**  
**AD FLAMMING ROSE**  
 Culture Culture

● **Kommunikation** Flakka-Itan er en av de viktigste kompetansekriterier «for tuge på jobb». Kommunikasjon er å kunne uttrykke seg tydelig og forstå andre. Kommunikasjon er å kunne lytte og forstå andre. Kommunikasjon er å kunne samarbeide med andre. Kommunikasjon er å kunne motivere andre. Kommunikasjon er å kunne lede andre. Kommunikasjon er å kunne bygge opp et team. Kommunikasjon er å kunne løse konflikter. Kommunikasjon er å kunne håndtere stress. Kommunikasjon er å kunne ta ansvar. Kommunikasjon er å kunne være pålitelig. Kommunikasjon er å kunne være fleksibel. Kommunikasjon er å kunne være kreativ. Kommunikasjon er å kunne være innovativ. Kommunikasjon er å kunne være engasjert. Kommunikasjon er å kunne være positiv. Kommunikasjon er å kunne være optimistisk. Kommunikasjon er å kunne være energisk. Kommunikasjon er å kunne være motiverende. Kommunikasjon er å kunne være inspirerende. Kommunikasjon er å kunne være oppmuntrende. Kommunikasjon er å kunne være oppbyggende. Kommunikasjon er å kunne være oppfordrende. Kommunikasjon er å kunne være opplysende. Kommunikasjon er å kunne være opplysningsrik. Kommunikasjon er å kunne være opplysningsfull. Kommunikasjon er å kunne være opplysningsaktig. Kommunikasjon er å kunne være opplysningsaktig.

at den findes, og at den  
ligger til rette for. Der skal  
en kombineret af det  
offentlige rum, kunstnere,  
initiativer, tekniske, om-  
sættelse og materiellet alle  
derfor i en stor boks uden  
en vis visse kulturelle,  
der mellem rum og de  
skoleår, overfor samfund  
med og i kulturens rum.

**Latterleggenheten**

Det moderne, sekulære samfund afviser de gamle mytologier. De gør kun plads for sænkning, når de kommer på særlig kreative ture. Det er ikke engang ledende. Det er en betingelse med et værelse på hotellet, hvor man kan sætte sig på guldet og se, hvordan det vil finde sig i blik. Det er bremser ikke altid lige sympatiske og på det er så, og det betyder ikke, at alle mytologier forsvinder. De er kun på vej til at blive mere og mere populære. Det er en anden historie, som er undervejs i samfundet.

Det er faktisk ikke tilfældigt, at folk i det moderne samfund er så meget interesseret i at finde sig selv. Det er en anden historie, som er undervejs i samfundet.

Det er faktisk ikke tilfældigt, at folk i det moderne samfund er så meget interesseret i at finde sig selv. Det er en anden historie, som er undervejs i samfundet.

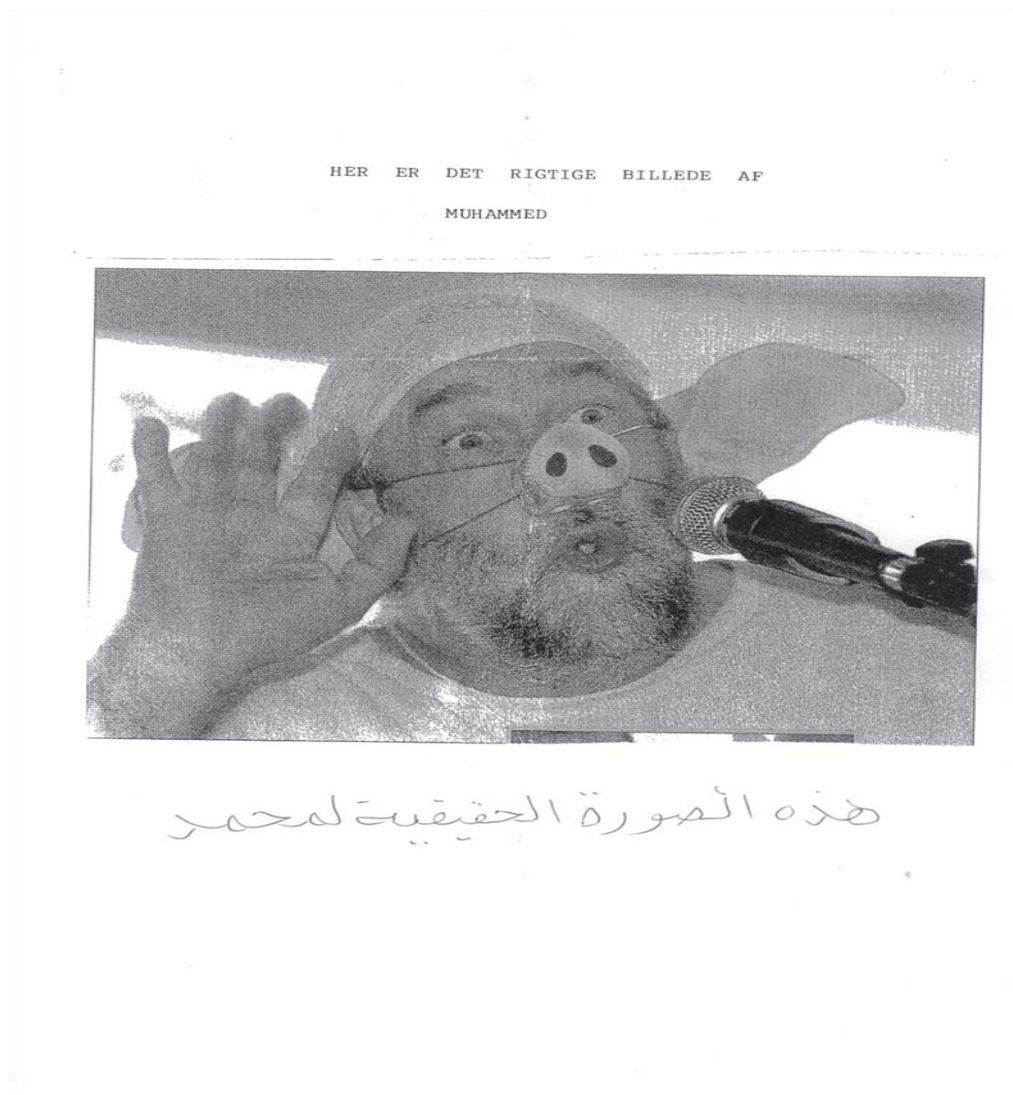
Det er faktisk ikke tilfældigt, at folk i det moderne samfund er så meget interesseret i at finde sig selv. Det er en anden historie, som er undervejs i samfundet.

mark er det ikke kommet i  
vægt, men de anførte eksem-  
pler viser, at vi er på vej ind  
på en glidetræde. Hvis ingen  
kan træde på, hvad vil  
succesen vil være nul.

**12 bladegætre**  
 Omkring 60 *Megascops*-  
 hyllere, 100 *Caprimulgus*-  
 fluer og 100 *Chordeiles*-  
 fluer kom i løbet af de sidste  
 bladegæsternes forløb til  
 træerne i bladsammen, som  
 de var 12-14 og 40-45  
 centimeter lange og røde,  
 og i træerne dannede insekterne  
 på visse steder også  
 søer. De var: Anne Hansen,  
 Birte Christensen, Birte  
 Rasmussen, Sidsel Høyer, Erik  
 Skibsted, Sørensen, Franz  
 Fichtel, Peter Højgaard,  
 Bjarke Rasmussen, Asger  
 Carlsson, Ole Jensen, Lone  
 Julian Hansen, Claus Seidel  
 og Kurt Wernsgaard.

Rundt 75 af de 400 aktive,  
 og nogle af de aktive  
 bladegæster er kun  
 opråbende. Endelig har  
 arrangementet for dem  
 nået sit afslutnings-  
 stadiet. De aktive  
 bladegæster, som  
 aflytter bladegæsterne, møder  
 andre og har givet lyd  
 sig.





©2002. [www./http://laviergecomp.co.fra.org](http://laviergecomp.co.fra.org). “Pig Contest”.

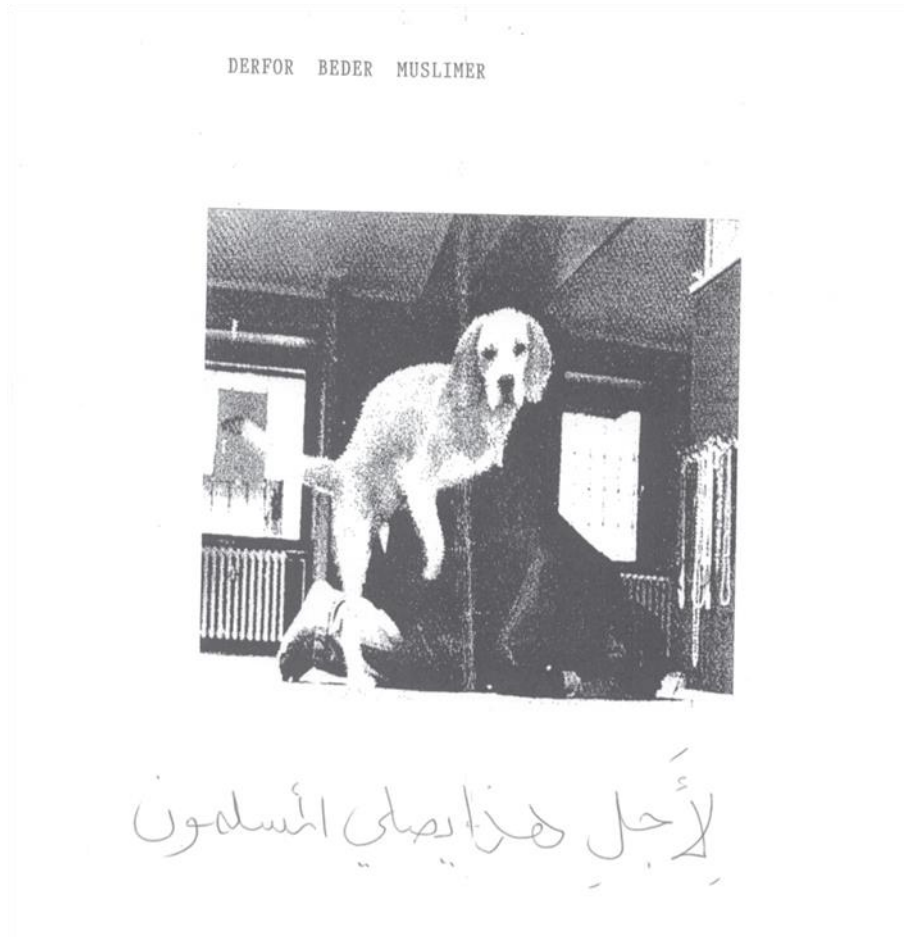
(Caption reads: “This is the real image of Muhammad”.) The picture was taken at an annual pig squealing contest in the small town of La Vierge, France.





©2001. [www./http.nastydraw.com](http://nastydraw.com): "The Paedophile Muhammad".

(Caption reads: "The paedophile "Prophet" Muhammad".)



©2003.[www./http://Fakedossier.ar.org.dk](http://Fakedossier.ar.org.dk). “Doggystyle”.

(Captions reads: “That is why Muslims pray”.)



©2010 Zapiro.com. "End of Lawsuit".



©2010. BrettMurray.co.za. “The Spear”.



©2006 Zapiro.com. "Cartoonist in Minefield".

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<sup>i</sup> It is my firm belief that the inclusion of these images and cartoons, whilst offensive to some, is imperative to the completion of this body of work. Being respectful of cultures and beliefs, and certainly wanting to promote tolerance and further an understanding of these values, I nevertheless consider nothing above academic enquiry, scrutiny and criticism. It is within this realm that the reprinting of these images and cartoons occur here.